The Christian East

EDITORIAL[1]

"A chief motive of our journey to the British capital was our ardent desire to make the personal acquaintance of the leaders among the clergy of our sister English Church, and above all that of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has always manifested sentiments of evangelical sympathy and love towards our own Church, which has suffered so much in the persecution of her children.

"I thank him and them, and pray with all my heart that their goodwill may prove another link between the two Churches, and will help to bring about their Union upon that one corner-stone which is ever our Lord."

HIS GRACE Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, the Τοποτηρητής, or Locum Tenens, of the Œcumenical Throne of Constantinople, wrote the above message for the English clergy on his arrival in London on March 1, and asked us to publish it in THE CHRISTIAN EAST.

His words, which breathe evangelic charity, and none the less are an exact and considered expression of the ever-growing goodwill and warm, brotherly relations existing between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches, need no interpretation. They are instinct with the eager desire for Reunion which, in spite of the difficulties that must for a time postpone its achievement, has brought the two Communions into the closest spiritual intimacy that can exist without formal Intercommunion. As such we do not read into them more than they plainly say, but we receive them with great happiness and with the knowledge that His Grace, and with him the members of the Holy Synod, remit neither prayer nor effort to reach the sacred and the long-desired end of that Reunion, to achieve which has been the cherished and consecrated passion of generations of Christians in East and West. The close ties of personal friendship which His Grace has formed, no less than the practical results of his meetings with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Anglican hierarchs and theologians, will assuredly contribute greatly to the consummation of our mutual desire.

While it is singularly gratifying, however, that His Grace should be at pains to avow that the deepening of the *entente* between the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches was a prime motive of his visit, we Anglicans must remember that he was driven to come to London by

[1] This Editorial was in type before the lamented death of the Τοποτηρητής. We think it may stand.

another and even more pressing, though not more compelling, cause. If, with the exception of the unhappy Joseph II. who, in the days before that great catastrophe to which the inaction of Western Christendom condemned the East, came to Ferrara in 1438, he is the only occupant of the Œcumenical Throne who has visited Western Europe, he has not done so lightly. When in 1453 Mohammed II. captured Constantinople and the Empire of the Cæsars was destroyed, the Capitulations assigned the civil headship of the hapless *rayah* to the Œcumenical Patriarchs. In that capacity, so far as defence was possible, it was their business to struggle to defend their flock from active persecution, and to work for the mitigation of their oppression. That heavy burden of responsibility has never been lifted from them. Often all that they have been able to do in its fulfilment has been to be the first among their people to suffer. All the world knows how in 1821, when the Turk first began the extirpation of his Christian subjects, Gregory V. was hanged in his old age as the first-fruits of the massacre of that day. Joachim III., the greatest of modern Patriarchs, needed much courage and all the backing of Russia and the West to stand between his people and the sword which fell on the Armenians.

It is still the same. In Great Britain we are familiar enough with the tragedy of Armenia. We shudder when we think of the million or so of that race who during the war were of set purpose done to death with the subtlest and most obscene barbarity. It is hardly known that half a million Orthodox Greeks experienced the same pitiless fate. Assuredly, friend of the Kaiser though he was reputed, Germanos V., the late Œcumenical Patriarch, had no safe or easy throne in the days after the kingdom of Greece adhered to the cause of the Entente. Then came the Armistice. Rejoicing in the victory of the Allies, and with an unbounded trust in Great Britain, the Greeks of Turkey, with the Armenians, counted with certainty both that the immediate danger to their life and honour was past and that before them stretched out a new era of progress and of freedom. The British Prime Minister himself had declared that once and for all the Turkish cancer must and would be excised.

What has happened since that great day of November 13, 1918, when Constantinople was bedecked with flags, when a *feu de joie* flashed in every street, and Thanksgiving was sung in every church to herald the coming of the British Fleet and of Liberty? At first it seemed certain that the Near Eastern question would be settled with a just and final settlement. The Christians of Turkey would at last be safe and prosperous. The Greek lands of Asia Minor would be united to the kingdom. The Sultan would be removed from Constantinople, and the conclusive proof of the advent of a new age would be given in the inevitable restoration of the symbolic Mother Church of St. Sophia to

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A MAGAZINE devoted to the cause of Reunion with the Eastern-Orthodox Churches as also with the Armenian, Abyssinian, Assyrian, Coptic, and Syrian-Orthodox Churches.

Students of Eastern Christianity and workers for Reunion will alike be glad to know that the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, M.A., and the Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D., B.A., have assumed the editorship of this important and necessary magazine.

THE REV. H. J. FYNES-CLINTON, who spent some years as Chaplain in Russia, was Secretary for fourteen years, and in effect the founder in 1906, of the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union, which was merged in 1916 with the historic Eastern Church Association in the Anglican and Eastern Church Association. No man living has a more intimate knowledge of movements and personalities in Eastern Christianity or has done greater work in bringing about the present happy close *entente* between Anglican and Eastern Churches. He was appointed in 1920 Secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee upon Anglican Relations with the Eastern Churches. The Serbian Students' Hostel of St. Saba at Oxford largely owes its existence to his efforts.

THE REV. J. A. DOUGLAS, who is a Senator of London University, served at the British Embassy, Constantinople, as far back as 1904, and has since visited many parts of the Levant and has an unusual first-hand knowledge both of the Greek and Armenian nationalities, of their Churches, of the governing forces and personalities in them. He is the author of several books dealing with Eastern Christianity, *e.g.*, of the "Redemption of St. Sophia" (1919), which has reached its fourth edition and has also been translated into Greek, and of the "Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern-Orthodox" (1921),

Two brilliant young scholars of Oxford and Cambridge respectively, Mr. Kirk and Mr. Thouless, write upon problems of Moral Theology and Conversion in the light of Modern Psychology; a number of articles deal with problems of special interest to English Churchmen; Dr. Moffatt writes a long critique of Dr. Charles' Commentary on the Apocalypse; and two famous Roman Catholics, Mr. Shane Leslie, Editor of the "Dublin Review," and Fr. Vincent M'Nabb are among the contributors.

A section of each number is devoted to matters which specially concern the life and work of the clergy (and it is intended to develop this still further).

Among recent contributors are Dean Hastings Rashdall, Dr. James Cooper, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Professors Roland Usher, A. H. McNeile, G. A. Cooke, and Mr. W. L. Knox.

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its people. The Turks would settle down in the really Turkish part of Asia Minor. Peace and Brotherhood would come between Christian and Moslem. The prospect, however, was a nightmare to the diplomatists of the Vatican, and Western Imperialism was aghast at the threatened loss of its fields of exploitation. Time must be gained to defeat the possibility.

The Chancelleries hummed with intrigue. The absurd Khalifate agitation was engineered in India, and Great Britain and France were swamped with a deluge of fictitious pro-Moslem propaganda, until at last some Arabs and Indians came to think that the salvage of the Ottoman Empire was of importance to Islam. Cardinal Gasparri made a *démarche* and, demanding St. Sophia for the Pope, rendered it possible to assert that its restoration to its only rightful and possible possessors would be the occasion of religious strife. Italian diplomacy agreed eagerly, and the Quai d'Orsay backed up the move. Meanwhile the Greek Army had been forbidden to advance in Asia Minor, and Mustapha Kemal had been gathering strength.

Thus last summer, when the time was ripe, the Treaty of Sèvres retained the Sultan in Constantinople. For very shame, however, Armenia was secured existence on paper, the Greeks of Thrace and Ionia were allowed to unite with their co-nationals, and the policing of the Marmora was decreed. Disappointing and cruel though the Treaty of Sèvres was, it went much too far for those who were fishing in Near Eastern waters. Its proposition was made with the tongue in the cheek.

The excuse to take back what it gave the Christians of Turkey was expected; and was not long in coming. If the war-weary Greeks had not rejected the absentee statesman whom the Great Three kept dancing attendance upon them in the West, another pretext would have been found. As it was, when Mr. Venizelos was overthrown last December, those who reviled Constantine the most rejoiced most at his return to Athens.

In consequence, the London Conference was held while these words are written, and—may the iniquity never be carried out—it is proposed that by way of punishing the Greeks of the kingdom for exercising the rights of a democracy in their home affairs—(1) Bithynia and Ionia are to be put again under the heel of the Turk—of course, with paper safeguards; (2) the East Syrians—Britain's smallest ally—are to be the same; (3) the Sultan—and with him the Nationalists—is to have sovereign rights in Constantinople; (4) the Allied troops are to be withdrawn from Asia Minor; (5) Armenia is to be narrowed and curtailed, that of it which remains being given paper guarantees.

In other words, Turkey is to be resuscitated to suit Western Imperialism and Western Ecclesiasticism, and the Christians of Asia Minor are not only to be denied liberty for fear that by possessing their own

lands they should be an obstacle to the Chauvinism of the day, but are to be made a peace-offering to Mustapha Kemal and his hordes.

It was to plead against that fate for his people that the Locum Tenens came to London. If he could have obtained the ear of Great Britain, the issue would not have been in doubt. As it is, though he has been received in audience by the King and has laid his case before our leading statesman, the British journals have not given him a hearing. The sanctions to be applied to the recalcitrant German, the latest divorce case, our own economic crisis, and so forth, fill their columns. They have no room to tell us of the daily massacres which have occurred without ceasing since the Armistice; of the whole population of Nicæa, man, woman, and child, wiped out by Mustapha Kemal's lieutenant, Djemal, in August last, almost in earshot of their Greek brethren, who were kept inactive at Brusa by the *fiat* of the Allies; or of the gleanings in Talaat's and Enver's Armenian field.

It is the fact that the extermination of the Christians of Asia Minor went on merrily and with set purpose while the London Conference talked. Hardly had the Locum Tenens reached the Ritz Hotel when he received these telegrams:

"Faisant suite précédentes communications, nous vous prions représenter Conférence situation nos populations Asie Mineure d'après nouvelles sûres s'agrave tous les jours davantage, Tribunaux Mustapha Kemal procédent arrestation notables et ecclésiastiques, dont vie en danger. S'agit provoquer mesures urgence protéger vie et biens des Grecs pour prévenir nouvelle et dernière catastrophe;" and "Selon depêche Métropolite Nicomédie Kémalistes incendièrent village Kondjé 150 maisons, massacrèrent plus de 50 personnes."

Whatever be the effect of his visit to London, in the years to come it will be a matter of profound thankfulness to us that, when the conscience of Great Britain seemed numb, the clergy of the Church of England took their stand to support the Locum Tenens in his desperate endeavour to save the remnant of his people.

DEATH OF THE ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΤΗΣ OF THE ŒCUMENICAL THRONE[1]

His Grace Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, and Τοποτηρητής since November, 1918, of the Œcumenical Throne, was a man grey-bearded, of middle height, and of no small dignity of presence. Born in 1860 at Sigi, a Bithynian village in the vilayet of Brusa, and educated at its little school, he entered in 1878 that Stavropegiac Seminary of Halki

[1] The substance of this notice was in print when His Grace died. We could have wished it possible to have rewritten it.

of which nearly all the Bishops of the Patriarchate have been scholars. After seven years' residence he left it with the "diploma laureate" in 1885, and became Archdeacon and Preacher of Chalcedon, where he worked with great devotion and success for six years. In 1891 he was consecrated to the See of Gallipoli. In 1897 he was translated to Grevena in Macedonia, in 1902 to Preveza in Epirus, and in 1908 became Metropolitan of Brusa, the capital of his own country and one of the great historic sees of Asia Minor.

In addition to his experience and faithful administration of the great Diocese of Brusa, His Grace had taken part in all the chief events and the intimate history of the Patriarchate during the past twenty years, having been reappointed four times to membership of the Holy Synod of Constantinople.

When Germanos V., on the defeat of Germany, to the cause of which he had been favourable, abdicated the Patriarchal Throne in 1918, general consent pointed to His Grace as the next Œcumenical Patriarch. As is, however, well known, by the Capitulations an Œcumenical Patriarch on his election must proceed to obtain the Sultan's *bérat* before he can exercise the functions of the Civil Head of the Greek Race. It was felt, however, in 1918 that even if the Sultan had been prepared to issue his *bérat* to a friend of the Allies, it could not be accepted. The conditions had always been a tyranny, and had become impossible on account of the widespread massacres and persecution of Greeks which had been a feature of the two preceding years. It was therefore decided to postpone an election until, as was confidently expected then and is still hoped and demanded now, the Sultan's power to veto a Patriarchal election had been for ever abrogated.

Moreover, the chaos in Asia Minor placed difficulties in the way. Accordingly, it was decided to appoint a Τοποτηρητής, who as President of the Holy Synod might exercise the Patriarchal functions, and His Grace was naturally chosen for the office.

It should be noted that, in virtue of that choice, His Grace was the chief Bishop of the whole Eastern Orthodox Communion.

One who has had the closest opportunity of observing writes: "Son action comme Locum Tenens fut le plus remarquable. Il représente dignement la Grande Église de Constantinople au cours des événements historiques dont l'Orient fut le théatre pendant les trois dernières années. Il reprit avec ferveur l'idée, si chère à l'Eglise Orthodoxe de l'Orient, de l'union des églises, et pour préparer le chemin à ce résultat tant désiré, il fut le promoteur du rapprochement le plus étroit entre les églises et tout particulièrement entre l'Église Orthodoxe et l'Église Anglicaine."

At the time these words were written, in spite of his special work in London, His Grace had found time to meet the Archbishop of Canter-

bury at a dinner given by Mr. Riley in the Athenæum; to attend an audience of H.M. the King; to visit Lambeth Palace and in its historic chapel to present the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Stavropegiac Enkolpion worn by Joachim III. and four other Œcumenical Patriarchs; and to meet the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of New York. Many other engagements, including a Liturgy at Bayswater, had also been fixed by him.

On Wednesday, March 16, however, though suffering from acute bronchitis, he paid a visit to Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office. On his return to the Ritz Hotel, he received a telegram announcing the murder by the Kemalists of the mother of his lifelong friend the Metropolitan of Chatadlja, her nieces and their families, under terrible circumstances. Ill, tired, and harassed with anxiety as he was, the shock brought acute cardiac trouble, and from the first his condition was pronounced hopeless.

On the Thursday Euchelaion and the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist were administered to him by the Great Archimandrite Pagonis, assisted by other clergy.

On the Friday evening he passed peacefully away.

Of him it may truly be said that he was not only venerated and beloved by his own people, but that his great friendship for the Anglican Church and his labours for the cause of Reunion have placed him among those whose memory we Anglicans will cherish with ever-increasing gratitude and love.

May his work follow him. R.I.P.

THE FUNERAL OF THE ΤΟΠΟΤΗΡΗΤΗΣ

By an English Priest

THE Turk is altogether superstitious, and, though stupid, cunningly suspicious. Therefore, when he seized St. Sophia and turned it into a mosque, he knew well that while the marvellous old shrine stood looking down from its hill upon the defiled mother city of Christendom, the Greek race would dream of freedom and of the resurrection of its buried but still breathing world. He had no courage to destroy the wonderful building, for he was in awe of it. He dared seize it, but, nomad that he is, he never felt at home in it. Somehow he knew that sooner or later her children would redeem their mother. The period of his long-drawn tyranny would pass and be remembered only as an evil night in the deathless centuries of her reign. His slaves might look at him with dull, passive faces, but in their hearts he knew that they

dreamed of the glories which had been, and of the certain day on which they or their sons—what did a few generations matter?—would re-enter and reconsecrate, and possess with thanksgiving their priceless inheritance.

Such memories were dangerous. The knowledge that they were inextinguishable goaded him, on occasion, to wild efforts at bludgeoning his unhappy *rayah* into forgetting them, and at all times made him cruel even to folly in his vain attempts to rob them of their past and their future. Among other useless expedients, since he posted his minarets to stand over the Great Church as guards stand over a dishonoured queen, he has forbidden the Greeks under his yoke to dedicate a church to the name of St. Sophia. That and a hundred other petty expedients proved worse than ineffective. Forget St. Sophia? Though Greek lips dared not be other than dumb, its form and its name were living in every Greek heart. Athens and the Parthenon were all but forgotten tradition. St. Sophia, the city of Constantine and the glorious hope of their redemption, were the fire which forbade the Greek race to die, and gave it courage to win back its life and liberty.

It was thus that, when the Greek community in free England built themselves a church, they built it in the pattern of the Great Mother Church of their nation, called it St. Sophia, and adorned it with copies of the famous mosaics and frescoes which have been hidden under Turkish plaster for more than four and a half centuries.

So the large hope and the great memory speak. St. Sophia, at Bayswater, stands to-day a perfect jewelled casket, rich with gold and shimmering with marbles, and provokes us to think of what its prototype may yet be again.

It was to that Church of St. Sophia that they brought the body of Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Brusa, Τοποτηρητής of the Œcumenical Throne, when he died in the Ritz Hotel, broken-hearted at the sentence passed on his people by the Allied Conference of London, and at the news of the ghastly atrocities with which the Kemalists had signalized the triumph of that decision.

As the rays of the sun of this incomparable March streamed down through the window lights of the tympanum on the coffin in the centre of the floor space under the dome, they lit up one of those romantic and symbolic scenes which are not the effect of design, but which are natural and incidental to the working out of the drama of history.

There, beneath the reproduction of Justinian's mosaic of the Christ enthroned upon the rainbow, with the splendid Patriarchal mitre and purple robe and pateritsa and ancient jewels on the pall, rested the body of the latest occupant of the Œcumenical Throne. Alive or dead, none had been the centre of such surroundings since 1450.

A little more courage and decision on the part of our statesmen and

the dream which had seemed nearer realization for him than for any of his predecessors, who one and all had dreamed it, would have come true, and by now he himself would have stood in those very vestments under the dome of Great St. Sophia, and have led a Trisagion of Thanksgiving for its redemption.

Instead of leading his nation in that pæan, he lay there in the representation which, to assuage and feed the hunger in their soul for the original, the Greeks have built in London.

Was it a presage that that dream will never be fulfilled, or an augury that the day of that hunger's satisfaction is very near?

Such imaginings must have had place in the minds of the great gathering of his people, which assembled as the bell tolled before eleven to call them to his funeral Trisagion.

All the world knows the bitter suicidal quarrel which threatens the hope of the Greek Idea. For the moment it was forgotten. There was King Constantine's delegation to the Allied Conference, and at their head M. Gounaris and M. Kaftenzoglou, the protagonists of the anti-Venizelist campaign. There, too, were Dr. Gennadios, the stoutest friend of the great exiled Hellene, and with him M. Caclamanos, who, until lately Greek Minister in London, followed his leader into retirement.

The days are full of dark foreshadowing for the Christian cause in the Near East, but if the nation can unite, it is also pregnant with possibility. Many of us were praying that, however deep and justified may be the quarrel, it may be buried, if not forgotten. While Mustapha Kemal is finishing the extirpation of the Christian race and name from Asia Minor, and is stretching out his grip towards Constantinople and Thrace, internecine strife among Orthodox Hellenes is hateful and a hideous crime. Of one heart and mind, they could end the Turkish nightmare for ever.

The broken-hearted Τοποτηρητής might well be held happy in his death if the contending factions find mutual reconciliation through their meeting round his coffin. "Sirs, ye are brethren, why do ye wrong one to another?"

His funeral, however, was not simply a domestic matter for the Greeks and the Eastern-Orthodox, but had a symbolism and significance for us Anglicans. And that not only because the dead man was the first chief bishop of the Eastern-Orthodox Church to have visited England.

In the past few years, especially at St. Paul's and other Cathedrals in England, as also at the Patriarchal Church of the Phanar in Constantinople, in Jerusalem, Athens, and Belgrade, there has been a series of *praxeis*, each of successively intensified significance, whereby Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox hierarchs have joined together in

public intercession, have preached in each other's pulpits, and have assisted at each other's Liturgies.

These *praxeis* had been alike the proof and the result of the continually growing friendship and spiritual intimacy between the two Communions.

Now they were to reach their culmination. For the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury was to visit an Eastern-Orthodox Church, and to do so in order to take a principal part in the funeral of the Τοποτηρητής of the Œcumenical Throne.

Short of that formal intercommunion which can only be declared when full dogmatic union is achieved, there could be no more striking act of brotherhood and goodwill.

Ten years ago the warden of St. Sophia informed me that no Anglican priest could be admitted within its Bema! The swift ripening of the Anglican-Orthodox *entente* has been in no small measure the work of the hierarch whose memory our Primate was coming to honour.

"The *locum tenens* was eager for union with the Anglican Church," a Greek statesman present told me; "he was particularly anxious to welcome the Archbishop of Canterbury here in St. Sophia, and now he is coming."

When the Archbishop was met by the clergy at the great west door and, preceded by the cross which was the gift to him of the bishops present last year at Lambeth, was led through the crowded church to take his seat in the canopied hierarchical throne on the south side of the eikonostasis, there could have been few of either communion who did not thank God that it was possible for him so to be there, and did not pray for the speedy accomplishment of reunion.

According to his rule, the Archbishop was in good time. One would think that as he sat in that seat wearing the stavropegiac enkolpion with which the dead man had journeyed so far to invest him only ten days before, he also found the minutes very precious. He had much about which to think.

The arrival of the Archbishop was followed by that of Lord Stanmore to represent King George, who has first-hand knowledge of the Eastern-Orthodox Church through his murdered kinsman, the beloved martyr, Tsar Nicholas II., his Lordship's chair of state being placed at the foot of the throne, facing the eikonostasis and south-west of the coffin.

Near Lord Stanmore were Lord Bryce, who, Presbyterian though he be, could estimate more than most the uniqueness of the occasion; the Dean of St. Paul's; Sir Samuel Hoare, a stout champion of the Christian cause in Asia Minor; Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and many others.

Some feet back from the foot of the bier stood Father Germanos,

Under-Secretary of the Holy Synod, MM. Ioannides, Karatheodoridi, and the other delegates who had accompanied the Τοποτηρητής.

As the seats filled, a great circle, roughly coincident with the ring of the dome, was formed of black-coated mourners, relieved to the north by the heavy gold lace of naval and military uniforms, and to the south by the simple white lawn of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the throne and the Bishop of London and Bishop Gore with their chaplains on his right and left. Behind Lord Stanmore, the Armenian Archbishop of Smyrna, in blue shoochar and large blue mitre, lent a startling contrast to his subdued surroundings.

When all was ready, in filed the seven archimandrites who were to render the obsequies, and, bowing in turn to the Archbishop, ranged themselves in a semicircle at the foot of the bier, the Great Archimandrite Pagonis standing in the centre, on his right being Basilakes of Paris, Moscovakis of London, and Callinikos of Manchester, and on his left Gennadios of Cardiff, Giannoulis of Liverpool, and Basdekas of London. Archdeacon Malathouras and the deacons Argyrides, Papageorgiou and Diakouni—the last a Ruman—with the Reader Papaconstantinos, took up their positions at the head of the coffin. Except the Reader, who, as usual, was black-gowned, the eleven clergy were vested in cloth of gold, the spectacular effect of the colour scheme and of the grouping being unrehearsed but perfect.

The Great Archimandrite Pagonis, having first censed the coffin with three short swings at the foot and then the Archbishop—the only usage of incense during the ceremony—the service began.

Like all the Eastern-Orthodox offices, a funeral Trisagion is composed of psalms and lections round which are grouped short litanies, prayers, and antiphons. The psalms, which in this case consisted of the 90th and 119th, came first, and were rendered by a small hidden choir of exceedingly fine voices hidden in the north gallery, their chanting being periodically stopped in order that the following memorial might be made of the dead hierarch :

"*Archdeacon.* 'Have mercy upon us, O God, according to Thy great mercy, we beseech Thee, hearken and have mercy on us.'

"*Choir.* Kyrie eleison.

"*Archdeacon.* 'Further, we pray for the blessed memory and eternal rest of the soul of God's servant who has fallen asleep, the hierarch Dorotheos, that he may be pardoned all his offences, witting and unwitting, that the Lord God may set his soul there where the righteous are at rest. Let us beseech for him of Christ our deathless King and God the mercy of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the forgiveness of his sins.'

"*Archimandrite* (*one of the seven in turn at each pause*). 'For Thou art the Resurrection, the Life, and the Rest of the soul of Thy servant, the hierarch Dorotheos, who has fallen asleep, O Christ, our God, and to Thee, with Thy causeless Father and with the all-holy and life-giving Spirit, we render glory now and for ever, world without end. Amen.'"

Nothing could be more impressive, or more truly helpful, than were these breaks in the deep, heart-stirring funeral psalms.

After the psalms followed some very beautiful antiphons and prayers, the following five Ἰδιόμελα being particularly appealing:

Ποία τοῦ βίου τρυφὴ διαμένει λύπης ἀμέτοχος; ποία δόξα ἔστηκεν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀμετάθετος; πάντα σκίας ἀσθενέστερα, πάντα ὀνείρων ἀπατηλότερα· μία ῥοπή, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα θάνατος διαδέχεται. Ἀλλ' ἐντῷ φωτὶ Χριστὲ τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ τῷ γλυκασμῷ τῆς σῆς ὡραιότητος, ὧν ἐξελέξω ἀνάπαυσον.

Οἴμοι, οἷον ἀγῶνα ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ χωριζομένη ἐκ τοῦ σώματος! οἴμοι, τότε πόσα δακρύει, καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτήν! πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγγέλους τὰ ὄμματα ῥέπουσα, ἄπρακτα καθικετεύει· πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνουσα, οὐκ ἔχει τὸν βοηθοῦντα· Διὸ ἀγαπητοί μου ἀδελφοί, ἐννοήσαντες ἡμῶν τὸ βραχὺ τῆς ζωῆς, τῷ μεταστάντι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν παρὰ Χριστοῦ αἰτησώμεθα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

Πάντα ματαιότης τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ὅσα οὐχ ὑπάρχει μετὰ θάνατον· οὐ παραμένει ὁ πλοῦτος, οὐ συνοδεύει ἡ δόξα· ἐπελθὼν γὰρ ὁ θάνατος, ταῦτα πάντα ἐξηφάνισται· Διὸ Χριστῷ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλεῖ βοήσωμεν. Τὸν μεταστάντα ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναπαῦσον, ἔνθα πάντων ἐστὶν εὐφραινομένων ἡ κατοικία.

Ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου προσπάθεια; ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν προσκαίρων φαντασία; ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος; ποῦ ἐστιν τῶν οἰκετῶν ἡ πλήμμυρα καὶ ὁ θόρυβος; πάντα κόνις, πάντα τέφρα, πάντα σκία. Ἀλλὰ δεῦτε βοήσωμεν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ Βασιλεῖ· κύριε, τῶν αἰωνίων σου ἀγαθῶν ἀξίωσον, τὸν μεταστάντα ἐξ ἡμῶν, ἀναπαύων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀγήρῳ μακαριότητι.

Ἐμνήσθην τοῦ Προφήτου βοῶντος· Ἐγώ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σπόδος· καὶ πάλιν κατενόησα ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, καὶ εἶδον τὰ ὀστᾶ τὰ γεγυμνωμένα, καὶ εἶπον· Ἆρα τίς ἐστι; βασιλεὺς ἢ στρατιώτης, ἢ πλούσιος, ἢ πένης, ἢ δίκαιος, ἢ ἁμαρτωλός; Ἀλλὰ ἀνάπαυσον κύριε, μετὰ δικαίων τὸν δοῦλον σου.

Read by the Reader in the natural voice, the contrast of these passages with the chanting was superb. They were followed by a series of equally beautiful meditations and prayers based on the Beatitudes:

"I weep and mourn when I contemplate death, when I see the form fashioned in beauty for us after the image of God lying in the grave, formless, without glory, and without comeliness. Oh, the wonder! Why, what is this mystery which is accomplished in us? Wherefore are we delivered to corruption and yoked with death? Verily by the decree of God, who, as it is written, gives rest to the departed.

"In Thy kingdom remember me, O Lord.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for it is theirs.

"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness.

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.

"O Christ, Thou didst make a citizen of Paradise of him who on the Cross cried to Thee. Remember me. Account me, unworthy, worthy of like repentance.

"Blessed are the pure in heart.

"Thou who rulest life and death, grant rest in the courts of the Saints to him whom Thou hast taken from these present places, who calleth to Thee, 'Remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom.'

"Blessed are the peacemakers.

"Thou who art Lord of men's souls and bodies, in whose hand is our breath, Thou consolation of the afflicted, grant rest in the land of the just to Thy servant whom Thou hast taken.

"*Blessed are the persecuted.*

"*Christ grant thee rest in the land of the living, open to thee the gates of Paradise, receive thee as a citizen of Thy kingdom, and grant thee, thou beloved of Christ, forgiveness of the sins thou hast committed in this life.*"

At the end of the rite came the Epistle and Gospel. The former, read by the Reader, 1 Thess. iv. 13, is often used by us at requiems.

The latter (St. John v. 24-30) was sung by the Great Archimandrite Pagonis standing on the steps of the eikonostasis, a striking and commanding figure with his great height and flowing beard.

When he had finished, the Archdeacon repeated the usual bidding to listen to the Gospel, and the Archbishop of Canterbury read the same passage again in English, his clear and soft enunciation, together with his plain emotion, making the reading very moving.

An almost tense silence followed for some seconds, and then came one of those dramatic, unrehearsed incidents which are typical of Greek worship. Without premeditation the Great Archimandrite delivered a short address to the congregation:

"What spectacle is this which we see?" he began. "Why are so many distinguished persons assembled here? Is it a dream perhaps? If it were, it would be a terrible dream. Unhappily it is reality. The Τοποτηρητής of the Œcumenical Throne, coming here to the capital of the world to champion the Christian cause, has fallen asleep in the Lord. And it has been decreed that I, the least of men, who knew him as a fellow-student at Halki, and have watched his career as Bishop of Gallipoli, as Metropolitan of Grevena, of Nikopolis, and of Brusa, and as Τοποτηρητής, should close his eyes. It is not my purpose to speak of his career and of his labour. Time allows me only to say that he fell in the field of duty. Nor can I offer consolation to those who accompanied him here as colleagues in his mission nor to the nation, for I myself indeed need consolation. Let it be a sufficient consolation to them and to the Greek nation that the Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and very many distinguished English clergy and bishops and politicians are here to show us their sympathy." Then, with a voice choking with emotion, he stepped down to the coffin, and, holding up his hand, uttered this apostrophe:

"Thou soul of ever-to-be-remembered Dorotheos, Metropolitan and Τοποτηρητής, which now receivest in heaven the crown of thy labours and thy struggles, beseech the Lord that He will fittingly fill the void which thou hast left on earth. Also bless us who will ever keep in our hearts a living memory of thee."

That said, he gave the blessing, and, first kissing the Archbishop's ring, an example followed by the other clergy, withdrew with him to the sanctuary.

The service was over.

THE BETRAYAL OF SAINT SOPHIA

I

WITH Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner outflung—
With Thy seal upon our forehead and Thy Name upon our tongue—
On that road we set our faces which the old Crusaders knew;
And their dust it stirred in sleeping, and their souls sang "Hallelu!"

II

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner lifted high—
Lo, we plunged into the battle, and its noise rang far and nigh;
And our weakness hurled us backward, and our follies bent our sword—
Yet we cried to Thee in trouble and Thou savedst us, O Lord.

III

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner's faltering flame,
Thou didst give to us the triumph for the Glory of Thy Name;
Broke the gates of brass asunder, smote in twain the iron bands,
And the cities and the nations didst deliver to our hands.

IV

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner proudly blown,
It was ours to win Thy Kingdom and restore Thee to Thy Throne:
Ours the glory and the honour to recall Thy children home
By the Sign of our Salvation stretching arms from yon Great Dome.

V

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned where the whole world's eyes might see . . .
Thou to us, O Lord, wert faithful; we were false, O Lord, to Thee.
In Thy Holy Sign we conquered . . . had the path made straight . . . and then—
Lo, we stood ashamed and shrinking to confess Thee before men.

VI

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner's conquering face,
We have left Thy Cross down-trampled in Thine ancient dwelling place.
Lest Thy gifts to us be forfeit—lest our Eastern empire sway—
We will sign away Thine honour, and Thy glorious trust betray.

VII

With Thy Cross thrice-over blazoned on our banner o'er the earth—
With Thy Cross at heart rejected as a thing of lesser worth—
Shall we dare to stand hereafter and bid others put their trust
In a sign we hold so lightly that we leave it in the dust?

QUEENIE SCOTT-HOPPER.

ST. SOPHIA AND ITS LAST LITURGY

BY THE GREAT PROTOSYNKELLOS ATHENAGORAS

(Translated from "Ekklesiastike Aletheia.")

THE American magazine *The Orient*, which is published here, in republishing in its number dated August 25 the article on St. Sophia which appeared in *Ecclesiastical Truth*, gives the following notes, selected from the work on Constantinople by Edwin A. Grosvenor.

Professor Edwin A. Grosvenor, in his memorable work on Constantinople, says, in connection with the question, when speaking of the abominable desecration of the Church of St. Sophia by the looters of the fourth Crusade in the year 1204, that Pope Innocent III. reproved the Crusaders in bitter terms, and declared that the Greek Church would only see in the Latins treachery and works of darkness. . . . Constantine IX. declared on December 12, 1452, in St. Sophia the Act of Union of the Eastern and Western Churches by the official acceptance of the teachings and pre-eminence of Rome. Cardinal Isidore, the envoy of Pope Nicolas V., celebrated the Liturgy at the Holy Altar according to the rites of the Roman Church, and the submission of the Orthodox Church would appear to have been complete. In consequence of this pact, which the Greeks considered apostasy and sacrilege, the Cathedral Church was considered desecrated, and as such deserted by the people until the day of the fall, when it was again filled by them in their mad despair. There was no more tragical event during the long and stormy history of the Empire than that of the night before its glorious fall. On May 28, 1453, Constantine, an hour before midnight, came once more to St. Sophia; the Holy Communion was administered, by Catholic hands, to him and his army, as to dying men. . . . Professor Grosvenor also gives the popular story, according to a tradition of the people, that a Greek priest was celebrating the Liturgy when the Sultan's troops, shouting for joy, entered the gates. Holding the Cross in his hands, the priest withdrew into a secret room, and there, with the Cross, is still waiting delivery.

In order to enlighten the Editor of this magazine on certain points, we consider it opportune for us to record also some notes on the truly stormy and tragic period of Greek history, which we select mostly from contemporary Byzantine historians. Depending upon these authors, we believe that any co-Liturgy held by the Orthodox and Catholics in the Church of St. Sophia was according to the custom of the Greek Orthodox Eastern Church, for which even the Latins, in spite of their exclusiveness, felt great respect and devotion. Even before the Council of Florence, when the Emperor John Palaiologos, the Patriarch Joseph, and other

ecclesiastics and wise men of the East, arrived in Venice, "with welcome," as mentioned by Doukas ("Byzantine History," pp. 212-213; Bohn edition, 1834), the Venetians received the Greek Emperor as a second monarch and provider for the salvation of Christendom, as well as the Patriarch and the remaining prelates. They gave them a sacred sanctuary in which they (the Greeks) held the service of the bloodless sacrifice; and there were gathered therein on that day all the men and women of that town to see and hear the Divine and sacred Liturgy according to the custom of the Eastern Church, seeing which, and with tears in their eyes, they cried the prayer: "Lord, preserve Thy Church unwounded by the arrows of evil, shatter all the evil from the midst which Thou gatherest, because we who have not before seen the Greeks, neither had ever seen their ritual, whose voices we heard and considered them as barbarians, now know and have believed that they are the eldest sons of the Church, and the Spirit of God speaks in them."

There followed in Florence the false Union, extorted by well-known methods of privation and force, which was proscribed by all who signed the Union even before they arrived in Constantinople. Doukas, who is kindly disposed to the Union, mentions in pp. 215-216 of his History the following: "The prelates on landing from the ships were immediately embraced by those of Constantinople, asking them for news of their affairs: about the Synod; whether victory had been theirs. To which they made answer: 'We have broken our faith, exchanging devotion for impiety, abjuring the pure sacrifice; we have become partakers of the unleavened bread.' 'And who has done this?' 'Those who signed the declarations, Anthony of Herakleia.' And all who were asked why they had signed said: 'We were afraid of the Franks. This right hand has signed,' they said; 'it shall be severed. The tongue has confessed; it shall be torn out.'"

This proscription received a more official character at a Great Council convoked in the year 1450, at which all the Orthodox prelates and the three Patriarchs of the East, those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, proscribed the Union at Florence and deposed the Uniate Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory Mammis. Pope Nicolas V. also felt deeply the failure of the Union, so that when the Emperor Constantine Palaiologos sent ambassadors to him, asking help from him against the Turks, the Pope promised help, on condition, however, that the deposed Patriarch Gregory should be reinstated on the throne and the Union carried out. The Emperor, pressed by the Turks and hoping for substantial aid from the Pope, acquiesced, although contrary to the wishes of the people and of almost the entire Orthodox clergy. The Pope sent Cardinal Isidore, a Greek by birth, ex-Metropolitan of Russia, with a detachment of 50 Italian soldiers, to which was added another 150 from Chios. Cardinal Isidore arrived at Constantinople,

and on December 12, 1452, a joint service was held by the Greeks and Latins, and the Union was declared. The Liturgy was according to the formal usage of the Orthodox Church, for at the end of the Liturgy the distribution of Antidoron took place, as is the custom in the Orthodox Church.

The historian Doukas, who, as it has been said, was a violent Uniate, mentions in his "History of Bysance" (p. 255) that, however many of the Orthodox consented to the condition of Union in St. Sophia, they did so after an agreement that when the occasion of the danger of the Turks had passed and there was calm again, some of the learned among the community should examine the conditions, and what was not correct be rectified—in fact, after the Turkish danger was past, to proscribe once more the Union. All did not accept the offer of the Antidoron. There were, indeed, many who did not receive the Antidoron, as being an abominable sacrifice conducted in the Uniate Liturgy.

But even this imperfect declaration of the Union was again proscribed by the people and the clergy, who declared: "Not everyone, and the King himself under an error, consented." The Church of St. Sophia was considered desecrated by the conjoint service of the two Churches, and as such was deserted by the people until the dreadful day of the Conquest, when they again flocked thither in order to pray for the last time. When the clergy and the laity were gathered together in the Monastery of the Pantocrator, in the cell of Gennadios, then known as George Scholarios, they said to him: "And what shall we do?" And he, shutting himself up, taking paper, wrote his opinion in writing as follows:

"Wretched Romans, in what have you been deceived, and have departed from the hope of the Lord, having put your hopes in the power of the Franks and with the town in which it is destined to perish, you have lost also your piety.

"Mercy, O Lord! I protest before you that I am innocent of this fault. Do you know, wretched citizens, what you are about? Together with the slavery which you will endure, you have lost the tradition and confessed to impiety. Woe to you in the Day of Judgment!"

On reading Gennadios' message, the people and the clergy cried: "We desire neither the help of the Latins nor Union with them. Let the worship of the unleavened sacrifice be removed from us" (Doukas, "Byzantine History," pp. 253-255).

And all the things which had taken place were considered never to have been. For those in favour of the Union said to the Schismatics: "Let us wait and see whether the Lord will appraise this enemy who is resisting us, the great dragon who boasts that he will swallow up the town; and then will you see whether we shall unite with the prac-

tisers of the unleavened sacrifice." And Doukas, the philo-Uniate, condemns both the people and the clergy for "not wanting to partake of the immaculate body and blood (Holy Sacrament) from the hands of the Greek priests who ministered in the Divine practices according to the Eastern tradition, only because there took part also in it those priests belonging to the Union of Orthodox and Latin Liturgy, for they said: 'To receive is pollution, and therefore not Christian.'" In all his activities against the Union Gennadios had as a fellow-worker the Grand Duke Luke Notaras, who fought heroically against the Turks on the battlements and met a martyr's death at the time of the fall of Constantinople, together with his children. He declared, in expressing the pure sentiment of the people, that "it was far better to see in the middle of the town the headgear of the conqueror Turks than the covering worn by the Latins."

Under these circumstances it is self-evident that on the night of the conquest of Constantinople the Emperor Constantine Palaiologos received the Holy Communion from the hands of a Greek Orthodox priest, since, according to Doukas, and that from that time—that is to say, from the time the service was held jointly by Greeks and Latins in St. Sophia—Greek priests celebrated Holy Communion, "using the Greek language and the blessings such as the priests of the Eastern Church do" Doukas, "Byzantine History," p. 261). Phrantjes, in his History, p. 279, speaking of the last Communion made by Constantine Palaiologos, says: "And to the revered Church of the Holy Wisdom of God came the King, who, praying and weeping, partook of the Holy Mysteries (Communion). Many others did also the same on that same night. After which he came to the Palace, where he stayed a little while, and prayed forgiveness from all present. And at that moment who could describe the weeping and wailing in the Palace; even if he were of wood or stone, it were not possible he should not mourn."

The Greek priest who gave the Holy Communion to the Emperor was the same one who held the service of Matins, followed by the Liturgy, on May 29, 1453, to which a great crowd of people had flocked. Then Mohammed's troops burst into the Church of St. Sophia, pillaging, seizing and massacring those attending the service, without sparing men, women, and children, who, by their martyrs' end, insured the imprescriptible and immemorial rights of the Greeks over their own Church of St. Sophia. According to a legend and tradition of the Greek people, which ever since the Conquest is jealously handed down from one generation to the other, on that dreadful and tragical day of May 29, and while the Turks rushed into the Church of St. Sophia, the door behind the altar opened and the priest who was conducting the service disappeared, holding in his hands the chalice, accompanied by the attendant clergy. Immediately the door closed behind him.

According to the same legend—and from legends there arise for living nations beautiful realities—when a Greek Orthodox King again enters the Church of St. Sophia the wall will again open and the priest who disappeared will reappear in order to finish the tragically interrupted Liturgy of May 29, 1453.

The Much-desired End

Since the ill-omened day of May 29, 1453, on which the last Greek Liturgy was held in the venerable Church of St. Sophia, and the church was transformed into a Mussulman shrine, it was believed that never had a Greek priest entered into it in order to conduct any Divine service whatever. There were many who hoped to die in the church, in the hopes that a Greek priest would enter and conduct the service for the dead, carrying thence the dead. One of these was the politician and artist, Ion Dragoumis, who met his tragic end at Athens during the stormy events of July last. In his fine work, published in 1911, called "Whoever Lives," in which he expresses all his soul felt on visiting the beautiful Church of St. Sophia, he says: "One day, sitting together with a young man in front of the Church of St. Sophia, waiting for permission from the Turks to enter, he said: 'There he is, the Turk, with whose permission we shall enter our own church—we who, three hundred years ago, could enter when and how we liked. And we shall go in, not to the Liturgy, but to do reverence; for do you know that it is fated that St. Sophia shall become ours again? Because we feel it in our blood, for centuries now . . .'"

On ascending into the Women's gallery, they were followed by policemen and Mussulman priests, and Alexis (Alexis is Ion Dragoumis) said in a low voice to the youth who was with him: "There are about five or six of them following us, and we are only two; if they want to do away with us in this dark staircase, especially since they have shut the doors downstairs, it will be quite easy to do so. I hope that one of us will escape—you, who are the younger of us—and while I am dying I shall tell you that I do not desire the Greek Government to demand satisfaction or compensation for my tragic end, but that priests should be allowed to enter St. Sophia, and, singing their psalms, should carry me out and bury me." And he really had a longing at that moment to die where he was, ascending into the gallery of the great church.

By a happy coincidence at this time, investigating the registers of the Theological School of Chalké, I found that the end that so many desired to meet with, but did not, had indeed come to a devout Greek workman, who, while working on a repair in St. Sophia, slipped, fell, and was killed on the spot. Justice ordained that a Greek priest should be allowed to enter the church and there light again the candle of hope, to send up waves of incense into the ethereal domes of the legendary

church, lifting up with deep emotion the same voice of prayer on behalf of the happy youth that had echoed for ten centuries throughout the venerable church.

In remembrance of, and as an act of blessing for, the happiness which had befallen the Greek workman, Isaiah, a pupil of the Theological School of Chalké, and the Deacon of Icossiphinotissis, wrote an ode, inspired by the blind singer Elias Tantalidis:

TO THE CHRISTIAN BUILDER WHO DIED IN THE VERY BEAUTIFUL CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, AND WAS CONVEYED OUT WITH A PRIEST

If to die a good death is envied of men, this man found a better fate than most.

A builder he was, and worked within the Great Church of St. Sophia; losing his balance, he slipped and fell supine and met his death. His soul ascended to Heaven, carried on the sweet-smelling fumes of incense; a candle was lighted within, and a priest was called to be present, who prayed in the Greek tongue and according to the true faith.

This was a miracle indeed, which appeared to happen after four long centuries of an alien worship, and as such is recorded upon the tomb of the blessed workman.

In the Church of St. Sophia he gave up his spirit to God.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH AND PEOPLE

BY EMILY J. ROBINSON

IN the year 34 the Apostles Thaddæus and Bartholomew took the Gospel to Armenia, where, after converting King Abgar and his household, they suffered martyrdom. The Faith spread rapidly, and in the century following the Persian Kings resorted to persecution of Christians. The great evangelist of Armenia, St. Gregory Loussavoritch (the Illuminator), was born of princely parents and brought up as a Christian. He married a Prince's daughter, and had two sons. He and his wife separated to embrace monastic life. The pagan King Tiridates III. of Armenia had Gregory imprisoned for fourteen years under cruel conditions. The King becoming ill, and his physicians being unable to afford him relief, he sent for the monk Gregory, who healed him. Out of gratitude Tiridates embraced Christianity in 301, and made his prisoner his minister.

After being consecrated priest and Bishop at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory returned to Armenia, baptized his King and Court, and began the official conversion of the country. Where resistance was offered, the militant Bishop, with a following of troops, seized the property of pagan temples by force. The struggle was fierce at Kisané, where Gregory ordered the huge copper idol to be overthrown. Six pagan priests were killed and when the doors of the temple fell the demons in possession cried: "If you drive us out, there will never be peace for those who dwell

here." The prophecy has been fulfilled, for Armenia has not yet found peace.

Tiridates helped Gregory to build Etchmiadzin *i.e.*, the Descent of the Sole-Begotten, which became the holy city of the Armenians and the intellectual centre of the nation. His work accomplished, Gregory left the Catholicosate to his son Aristakes, his suffragan since 318, and retired to the grotto of Mount Sepouh, where he died shortly after.

The conversion of Tiridates, followed by that of Constantine, made the Persians fear an alliance between the Christian Emperors. They murdered Tiridates and other Princes, and tried to force paganism on the people. The history of Armenia ever since has been one long struggle against persecution, written with the tears of her saints, illuminated with the blood of her martyrs.

When Aristakes brought back the Creed from the Council of Nicæa to his father, St. Gregory wrote under it: "But we, let us glorify Him who was from the Eternities, worshipping the Holy Trinity and one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now, ever, and for ever." These words have been repeated after the Creed for sixteen centuries. The Armenian Church has held the essentials of the Faith without a single heresy or theological controversy, a unique record in the history of Christendom.

The Armenian Church was represented at the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431). Misled by incorrect reports of the Council of Chalcedon, which they were unable to attend on account of Persian persecutions, the Armenian Bishops annulled its decrees in 536, thus gaining the reputation of being Eutychians, which led to their gradual separation from the Orthodox Church. The Synod of Armenian, Georgian, and Caspo-Albanian Bishops assembled at Dovine in 506, officially proclaimed the profession of faith of the Council of Ephesus, and officially condemned the names of Arius, Eutyches, and Nestorius. The Armenian Church looks on the Council of Ephesus as the last whereby the unity of the Church was maintained, in the conviction that we have in it the true foundation of the Church Universal.

Seven Sacraments are accepted in the Armenian Church. Extreme Unction is almost in disuse. Total horizontal immersion is the rule at Baptism. Confirmation or anointing with the chrism immediately follows Baptism, and the baptized infant is at once admitted to Communion, a particle of consecrated wafer dipped in the chalice being placed under the tongue. After the Sacrament of Penance or Confession it is usual to let a few days pass before the Absolution, which immediately precedes Communion. The Sacrament of Marriage is called the Sacrament of the Crown, and is solemnized by a priest under the Bishop's authority. The Sacrament of Orders is conferred by the imposition of hands and by bestowal of appropriate badges. Unction is administered to priests, Bishops, and the Catholici. Including

the subdiaconate, which is a minor order, there are seven priestly orders, which are conferred by the Bishop. Bishops are consecrated by the Catholicos with two Bishops, and the Catholicos by twelve Bishops. The rank of Vardapet or Doctorate of Theology has major and minor classes and its own orders.

The head of the Armenian Church is the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, the direct spiritual descendant of St. Gregory. He is elected by the whole nation. Supporting him are the Catholicos of Sis (Cilicia), the Catholicos of Aghtamar, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The latter is the guardian of the Holy Places of the Armenians. The Patriarch of Constantinople is the head of the whole nation, and its representative in temporal matters.[1]

Driven to seek safety in other lands, scattered as they are throughout the world, Armenians are everywhere passionately attached to their Church, which has kept them a nation, united and loyal, through all the ages of suffering and persecution. Perhaps this explains the immense power of the Cross on the hearts of even the most ignorant peasants.

The Church of Armenia has kept the beacon light of faith burning without faltering, rather strengthened by suffering for her Master. What is her reward?

In 1915 the Turkish Government planned and carried out the extermination of its Armenian subjects all over Asia Minor, who were deported in long caravans to the deserts or killed under most horrible circumstances, in obedience to signed orders issued from Constantinople by Talaat and Enver Bey to their officials in the provinces. Translations and photographs of these signed dispatches may be found in a little book, "The Memoirs of Naim Bey" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1920, price 2s.).

At least a million and a half Armenians were killed in the war; more than half a million more were deported, their property stolen, their homes wrecked or given to Turks. It is computed that quite thirty thousand Christian women and children are still detained in harems, where many have been for six years.

Western Christians may plead that they were not responsible for what was done by Turks during the war. They are most certainly responsible for what has been done in Turkey since the Armistice. No compensation whatever has been offered to the Armenian people, more than a million of whom are eking out a miserable existence as refugees, no provision having been made for them. Armenians are starving to death in the Caucasus. Terrible massacres took place in the autumn of 1920 at Marash and Hadjin and in the Caucasus. Murders have taken place in country districts all over Asia Minor ever since the Armistice. Armenians are safe nowhere.

[1] See especially "The Church and Faith of Armenia," by the Vardapet Dr. Abel Abrahamdan (Faith Press, 1920, price 2s.).

It is the clear duty of Western Christians to demand and ensure without further delay that no Christians shall be left under Turkish rule.

The following lines, written by a Catholicos of Etchmiadzin in the eighteenth century, when the Mussulman yoke pressed hard on Armenia, might have been written to-day :

"Arise, O God of our fathers,
Sole Refuge of the oppressed,
Save Thy faithful servants,
Send succour to Armenia !

O ever-blessed Trinity,
Spread Thy peace in all the world,
Give health to the ailing,
Give freedom to Armenia !"

THE CHURCH OF CYPRUS

By T. PAPAPORPHYRIOU

AT the end of January, 1910, the question of the Archbishopric of Cyprus, which had kept the Christian Community of that country in a ferment for ten years, was solved by the appointment of Bishop Cyril II. of Kition to the Episcopal See. Immediately following on this solution the two vacant Sees of Paphos and Kition were filled by the Archimandrite James Augoulatou as Bishop of Paphos, and by the Archimandrite Meletius Metaxakis as Bishop of Kition.

After the appointment of the higher clergy had been supplemented, a fuller assembly was held, composed of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Cyprus, the Abbots of the Cypriote Monasteries, the Greek Deputies, and the Mayors, in order to consult together on the subject of drawing up rules by which the Church of Cyprus should be governed. A decision was reached at this Assembly, under the Presidency of the Archbishop, in accordance with which the Holy Synod formed a Committee, the members of which were empowered to draw up Canons for the Church of Cyprus. In this the Holy Synod took care that the Committee was subordinate to itself and defined its general scope. The Committee completed and published its work in May, 1914, under the name "Canons of the Most Holy Apostolic Church of Cyprus," which was immediately put into force.

As printed, these Canons were preceded by an Encyclical of the Holy Synod to the Christian Congregation of the island, their aim being the adjustment of the various relations of our ecclesiastical life in such a manner as to remove any incertitude in the use of customs. The Encyclical made it clear that all blanks in the prescribed administration of the Church were to be filled by written clauses, and a system

of management was to be established which, while taking away all misunderstanding, might secure a better working, and which, in the words of the Encyclical, might draw closer "the bonds between the Church that is shepherded and its shepherds."

The Church of Cyprus, being naturally a part of the Orthodox Church, is governed according to the Canons and Decrees of the Local and Œcumenical Councils by which the whole Church is governed. The Canons enacted have therefore no other object than to indicate particularly and more clearly the practical carrying out of these local Canons and Decrees in connection with ecclesiastical usages and in Church administration which time has consecrated, but which do not come in conflict with the above-mentioned General Ecclesiastical Decrees and the laws of the Councils.

The Canons of the Holy Church of Cyprus, consisting of thirty-five pages, comprise 138 articles, the last four of which contain the General Decrees; the rest of the pages comprise seven chapters, and treat of the Holy Synod, of Dioceses, of the election of Bishops, of the duties and rights of the Bishops, of parishes and parish priests, of marriage and divorce, of Holy Monasteries, and finally, of ecclesiastical economical management.

CHAPTER I.—There are sixteen articles in this chapter. In the first article it is defined that the Orthodox Church is governed and is ruled by the Apostolic and Synodical Canons and sacred traditions of the Orthodox Church. The other articles treat of the Sessions of the Holy Synod, which is composed of the three Bishops (Metropolitans) of Paphos, Kition, and Kirikanias, under the presidency of the Bishop of Nea Justiniana and All Cyprus. The chief duties of the Holy Synod are prescribed in the ninth article, and consist in watchfulness over the Orthodox religious teaching of the faithful, in provision for the celebration of the Sacraments (Mysteries), and in the preservation of the rite of worship according to the Canons of the Orthodox Church, in the supervision to be kept to secure obedience to the decrees and commands of the Church, in the provision of instruction for and the fitting maintenance of the clergy, in care that each class of clergy should carry out its own duties, in ecclesiastical discipline, in provision for the safety of sacred objects possessing an archæological value, in the exercise of the synodical duties of the Bishops in the election of the Archbishop as well as in the function of acting as the highest ecclesiastical Court of Jurisdiction in the island, and in dealing with offences committed by clergy or laity against the Canons of the Church.

In the eleventh article, there are seven paragraphs dealing with the penalties imposed according to ecclesiastical law on guilty clergy or laymen who transgress the law of the Church.

CHAPTER II.—This chapter contains fifteen articles (17–31).

Therein are mentioned the Dioceses—that of the Archbishop, that of the Bishopric of Paphos, that of Kition, that of Kirikias, in the order of precedence belonging to each Bishop. Each Bishop, as well as the Archbishop, has the right to have a deputy Bishop. On the Archbishop's See becoming vacant, the Bishop holding precedence—viz., the Bishop of Paphos—is called to act as *locum tenens* of the Archbishop's See. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any of the Dioceses through the death of the Bishop, the Archbishop becomes spiritual head of the Diocese. This temporary authority is confined to ordinary procedure and the indispensable matters of the Diocese. It is decided that all candidates from among the clergy eligible for the See should be not less than thirty years of age, should hold a diploma of a theological college, and should be of unblemished character.

The assembly to vote for the appointment of an Archbishop is composed of the Bishops, of the Deputy Bishops, if such exist, the Abbots of the Monasteries of Kikkou, Machaira, St. Neophytos, Troodissisio, Chrysoroiatissis, Stavrovounion, and St. Pandaleimon. If there are no Abbots of the Monasteries, then their representatives (the Monasteries) are to be two graduated priests belonging to the Archbishopric, two graduated priests from Lefcosia, the Economos (priest) of Phanaromeni and the Archimandrite of Tripokiton, if such exist. Also 66 other representatives are to be elected throughout the whole of Cyprus after an Encyclical by the Episcopal Authorities.

From among the representatives 33 are chosen from the Archbishop's diocese, 10 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Paphos, 13 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Kition, and 10 from the Diocese of the Bishop of Kirikias. Out of these representatives 22 are to be drawn from the parish priests, 44 are to be laymen, and the candidates must be over twenty-five years of age and Greek-Orthodox. They must also be in possession of their ecclesiastical rights—*i.e.*, they must not have been deprived of them through any official act of the ecclesiastical authorities before the election. According to the above-mentioned Encyclical, the special representatives so to be chosen are afterwards to proceed to choose the general representatives. The Holy Synod is to hear and try any objections raised against these elections, and to decide any appeal made against the validity of the elections. In the event of any election being invalid, the Holy Synod is to order a fresh election to be held. The special representatives must be above the age of twenty-one. The elections are to be held on the basis of an electoral roll drawn up previously, and duly confirmed by the Bishop of each Province or of the Diocese. The Encyclical for the election of the general Representation is to be given out by the Bishop holding precedence a fortnight from the vacancy of the Episcopal See. If he does not comply with this, then the second in precedence shall carry out the formalities

dealing with the elections and so on in rotation, a week after the expiration of the above-mentioned term.

During the three days following the ratification of the elections of the representatives, they are to be formally invited (together with the others mentioned above, as being members of the Assembly for the election of the Archbishop) to attend on a certain day of the week and at a certain hour. At this Assembly, which is to be held at the Archbishop's Palace, the quorum is the number of the elected members, with one extra. If this is not obtained, the meeting is postponed until the next day, and the same hour as the previous one, at which a quorum is to be considered to have been obtained by as many members as are present. Whereupon the Chairman is to declare the meeting opened, is to state its object, and to invite the election to the Archbishopric of a person possessed, according to the Article XIX. of the Canons, of the "qualifications for election." For the position of Archbishop all ordained clergy are eligible who are not younger than thirty years, of unblemished character and devotion, and in possession of the Diploma of an Orthodox Theological College.

If all those gathered at the Assembly are in agreement about one particular person, then his election is to be held accomplished. If not, a vote by ballot is to be taken, the name of the person proposed by each member being written down and cast in the ballot box. On the votes being counted at the end of the voting, he who has the majority of votes is to be declared elected Archbishop. He is then to be immediately enthroned by the Holy Synod in the Cathedral in accordance with the usual rites and customs if he is a Bishop. If he be not a Bishop, then the service of enthroning him as Archbishop is to be preceded by that of his consecration. After the installation of the Archbishop on the Episcopal throne a notification of his election is to be sent to the Government of Cyprus and to the Christian Community.

For the election of a Bishop, the same decrees are in force as for that of an Archbishop, with the difference that in the election of Bishops, whatever is to be carried out by the Bishop having precedence in the election of the Archbishop, is to be carried out by the Archbishop. The electoral Assembly for the election in question is composed of the Archbishop, the Bishops, the Deputy Bishops, the Abbots of the Monasteries of Kikkou, Machaira, St. Neophytos, two graduated clergy of the Archbishop's Diocese, the Abbots of the Monasteries dependent on the Episcopal throne, two graduated clergy of the particular diocese, and thirty-six clerical representatives of the diocese, a third of whom are to be drawn from the parochial clergy.

MONASTERIES IN GREECE

By EUPHROSYNE KEPHALA

FROM the great Church of the East sprung the Orthodox monasticism that flowered all over Greece and the lands of the Turkish Empire where people of the Greek race predominated, leaving us as priceless legacies of architecture the splendid group of the "Meteera" in Thessaly, Phanaromené in Salamis, and Pendeli and Petraki in Attica, Megaspelion, founded in the thirteenth century by the Empress Euphrosyne, and the medieval monastery of Hesios Leukas in Bœotia, built by a Byzantine emperor in the tenth century on the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

Last of all, that great nucleus of monastic life at Mount Athos in Thrace, called the Holy Mountain, where every nationality professing the creed of the Orthodox Church is represented by a convent of its own. They formed themselves into a republic after obtaining privileges from the Sultan Mohammad II., to whom they made submission before his conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Each of these monasteries has its history. Sometimes it is the tragedy of an emperor, who, renouncing the world, its pomps and its vanities, comes hither to exchange a crown for the monk's cap; an act of devotion or penitence of some proud noble of the Byzantine Court; or, again, a holy man like the Blessed Luke of Stiris, who found a tomb there as a last resting-place.

Thus it came about that these monasteries received many who sought, within their fortified walls, peace and seclusion; where besides the spiritual comfort afforded by the services of the Great Church, they could give themselves to scholastic pursuits, hymn-writing, and painting. Many of the most beautiful prayers composed for the services of the Greek Church were written by monks.

The master artists and craftsmen of Christian monasticism in those early days of the faith must have been, one feels, imbued with a deep spirituality which expresses itself in the rich pictorial art and in the rich poetry embodied in the chants of the Church services.

Hidden away in remote mountain districts, always in a solitary environment, there was doubtless many an artist who was dead to the secular world under his *kaleyer's* (monk's) black gown.

As he tilled the ground, or pruned his vineyard, many a monk must have chanted the hymns and praise of the Virgin or saints with equal zeal as when at his offices in church, content to live in these romantic spots his life of toil and faith.

For all these monasteries, with their dependent priories, sketes, or

ST. SOPHIA RESTORED. (A DREAM OF WHAT MIGHT BE.)

hermitages, and chapels, are incomparably beautiful in position, clinging as they generally do to a steep mountain spur, or perched—towering above the blue sea, enclosed between three mountain sides—almost on the rocks themselves, with their terraced vegetable gardens and vineyards stretching away on all sides around.

There are so many of these lovely old places scattered all over Greece that have mercifully escaped desecration by the Turk.

Life goes on in them much as it did centuries ago; nothing is really changed. Year in, year out, the monks say their offices, keep the fasts, roast the Paschal lamb, and are laid out to rest finally in a corner of the grounds under the tapering cypress-trees.

All through the years of Turkish domination, he continued saying his prayers unmolested, using the same beautiful language of the great Fathers of the Church in those prayers with which were mingled also all the hopes and aspirations of his nationality; hopes which sustained him and kept alive his faith in Providence until the day of dawn should break for the Greek people.

Sometimes it is the pilgrims who bring their wax candles and silver votive offerings to the monastery church, to crave the intercession of Virgin or saint on behalf of their sick ones. Then the austere silence of the cloister is broken by the sound of many voices. And when the *Leitourgia* is finished, the people, most of whom have come from afar on foot, sit in the shady courtyard and partake of their simple fare before starting on their homeward journey. The hospital monks supplement its frugality by generous gifts of wine and fresh fruit, refusing payment for them in truly monkish style.

In days gone by and when the Greek people were planning the great rising of 1821, their leaders who were members of the "Philike Etairia," or "Society of Friends," used to hold secret meetings at the monasteries, which, owing to their secluded position, were considered safe for this purpose. There is a tradition, for instance, connected with the Monastery of St. Michael and All Saints at Lagora in Thessaly, which has been handed down to the writer from her family, that the patriot bard Rigas Pheraies and his little band of Thessalian patriots—including her great-grandfather—first discussed there the possibility of the "Risorgimento of Greece."

Subsequently, many of the monks abandoned the cloistered safety of the monastery and won the crown of martyrdom in the great struggle for independence which swept over the entire country.

Although from most monasteries women are absolutely excluded, yet in some cases they are often hospitably received and entertained, as it was in our case, when we visited the Monastery of Hosies Leukas in Bœotia.

The journey from Delphi was one through magnificent scenery, over

ground where the memory of Œdipus rose vividly before one at the meeting of the three roads—from Aulis, Thebes and Delphi, the scene of the legendary murder of Laius by Œdipus—past primitive inns where peasants forgathered and partook of Homeric fare in an atmosphere absolutely classic in its setting.

After journeying for nearly all day, night overcame us on the plains; but after ascending a steep bridle path for half an hour, and spending some twenty minutes in passing some precipitous slopes, at the head of the valley to the right we spied the welcome lights of the monastery, twinkling through the dark, and heard the deep baying of the watch-dogs as we approached and knocked at the gates for admittance.

In the pitch darkness of the night we could only discern the black shadow of a monk unbarring a side-gate. After a whispered confabulation with the muleteer, he admitted us into a vast paved courtyard crossed with great arches, and through these conducted us to the place set aside for visitors.

The monks of Hesios Leukas are proverbial for their hospitality to all who visit the monastery, and they showed it to us gladly enough, in spite of the fact that they had been aroused from their sleep.

They began by giving us food to eat and brandy to warm us, seeing how perished with cold we were. An enormous copper brazier with wood-ashes was brought into the room. Father Nicodemus, a black-bearded, jolly-looking monk, hovered around us while we were partaking of our meal and seemed to anticipate every wish of ours. Indeed, the good monks could not do enough for us, a novice, a lad of sixteen, bringing us hot water *ad libitum*.

The loud clanging of the bell for morning service woke us, and Father Joseph, a young and handsome monk with a fair beard and soft brown eyes, came to conduct us to the Church of "Hesios Leukas" and act as our cicerone.

He also brought us the Abbot's greetings of welcome, who was confined to his room with an attack of rheumatism, and could not come in person.

After pagan Delphi, we found ourselves in a decidedly medieval atmosphere; for, on going out into the great courtyard through which we passed the night before, with its massive Byzantine arches, we discovered we were in a fortified enclosure of high walls and strong gateways.

In the centre stands the ancient church, while all round it are build the refectories, cells, and other monastic buildings. The whole looks like a tiny city clinging to one side of the hill 1,800 feet high; it overlooks the deep valley below, the ground sloping away in a succession of terraces, and commands a marvellous view of Mount Helicon and the surrounding country.

There are forty monks and thirty novices at the monastery. We occasionally caught glimpses of these solemn black-bearded figures as they walked alone under the arched galleries of stone that run along the south buildings, reached by greystoned steps worn by centuries of use.

In the dim light and coldly austere atmosphere of this old church, built in the tenth century (and once so richly decorated with marbles) after the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople, with its precious stones, silver and gold ornaments, one feels that sense of desolation and melancholy that the sight of great age coupled with decay never fails to arouse. How ancient it is, withal how sad, with the weight of its memories clinging to it, a thing of the past, yet still living on!

The pale and ascetic countenances of the saints and Apostles that surround the Christ in the central dome—many of them, alas! sadly defaced by the infidel Turk—look down upon us solemnly, oblivious of time and its ravages.

The blues and reds, purples and dull golds of the figures in the mosaics still glow in a harmonious symphony of colour on the dark walls of transept, nave, and narthex.

The rainbow-like arches throw out their soft lines in gentle curves, crossing and intercrossing all of them, illumined with multi-coloured tracings of the Byzantine artist.

Conspicuous also are fragments of the marble rood screen wrought in exquisite design and workmanship; the cross rising from among foliage that entwines itself about its base, and the vine throwing out its tendrils in curling wreaths. But the church has lost many of its treasures, having suffered much from pillaging and looting in the days when the Crusaders swept over the land.

Beneath the chancel, in the vaulted crypt, we saw the original tomb of the Blessed Luke. He was a saintly man, lived in a cell at the village of Stiris, and died in the year A.D. 946. Before his death he prophesied that his native country Crete (his parents having fled from that island on the occasion of its invasion by the Saracens and settled in Phecis) should be delivered by an emperor named Romanus. When, therefore, in 961 Crete was reunited to the Empire under Romanus II., that emperor built this monastery in acknowledgment and dedicated it to the prophet Luke, whose remains were transferred to the church and buried in a sumptuous tomb. Quite near, at the entrance to the choir, there are the tombs of the Emperor Romanus and his wife. Altogether this ancient church gave one the impression of a huge cave hollowed out into the shape of a cross.[1] We were in there at Vespers, and the effect of the many black-figured monks

[1] The more ancient church of the two, where are the tombs of St. Luke and the Emperor and Empress, is beneath the one described above.

who chanted the psalms and hymns to the Virgin, sitting or standing in the dim recesses, was weird and impressive; they looked like sad spirits imprisoned in the bowels of the earth. The monk who chanted the "Treparion" of the day had a singularly fine voice, and at times the notes of exultation which crept into his voice were extraordinarily beautiful. It was Friday in Lent, one of the Fridays on which all the hymns of praise to the Theotokes are intoned together and are most of them full of exquisite poetry. After which we were taken by our guide, Father Joseph, into every nook and cranny, not omitting a dark underground cave, its walls dripping with moisture, to show us the four granite columns which support the two churches.

He took us over the monastery grounds, where we picked sweet-smelling flowers, while he told me of the life they led in the monastery. And one realized how little life had changed for these simple people since the foundation perhaps of this order of things. The great Lenten fast was on, which permitted of no eating of meat, milk, eggs or cheese, by the monks, according to the rules of the Greek Church. "On Easter Sunday," he said, "we shall eat lamb, the only day in the year that we eat meat, it being the greatest festival of the Church." Indeed, there are many laymen who, being strictly Orthodox, never touch animal flesh except on Easter Sunday.

He told us that the novices work in the vineyards and gardens when they are not occupied by ecclesiastical duties.

The monks, he said, no longer do manual work, but confine themselves to their offices or painting eikons or making rosaries.

He insisted upon our partaking of refreshments in his cell, and in an adjoining cell we saw an old monk a hundred years old, who knitted stockings in his spare moments. I saw him sitting by the fireplace thus cheerily occupied, and he did not certainly look his age. He came into our room where we were taking tea, and sat and talked to me about the monastery and religion. I offered him a cup of tea with plenty of sugar, which greatly pleased him. He appeared keenly interested in hearing about the Anglican Church, to which I told him my companion belonged, and did not seem to regard the latter as a trespasser into the holy precincts of the monastery.

Father Joseph showed us some wonderful old books, veritable treasures, contained in the library of the monastery, relative to its history, which were of great interest to us to see.

On the morrow we departed, after spending another night beneath its hospitable roof, charmed with the kindness and courtesy of the monks, who, moreover, refused any kind of payment for all they had done for us.

Thus ended a most delightful and very pleasant trip in pagan and Christian Greece.

THE CHRISTIAN FAR EAST

WHAT THE HOLY ORTHODOX CHURCH HAS DONE FOR IT

By the Rev. J. INGRAM BRYAN, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

THAT there is a Christian Far East, as well as a Christian East, at this time needs no elaboration; and it is with that aspect of the Church's work that this article aims to deal. Nor will this Review be extending its scope beyond its title in welcoming to its pages some discussion of what the Holy Orthodox Church has been, and is, to Japan.

We are accustomed to say that Christianity was born in the East; for our Lord was an Oriental as well as the universal man and the incarnate God. But not so many, even among scholars, are aware that it was first through Greek Christianity that the Church most influenced the Far East. Not Christianized the Far East, be it remembered, for that section of the world, representing as it does the majority of mankind, is not yet Christian: but it has been influenced by Christianity nevertheless, though space does not here afford opportunity to traverse this aspect of the question. Let it be sufficient to say that the influence of Greek Christianity penetrated into India, even independently of St. Thomas, and exercised a distinct influence over Buddhism, which carried certain marks of Christianity with it even into China and Japan. True, it was an influence seen more perhaps in sculpture and ritual than in doctrine and moral and spiritual force, but it was an influence of no small significance, none the less. And when the Russian Orthodox Church took up its work in Japan, it came into a field where its ideas and modes took first root.

One is apt to overlook the fact that the Slav, after all, is more of an Oriental than a European. In love of eye effect and restrained emotion, if not in civilization, Russian psychology appeals powerfully to the East; and the signal success that has attended the labours of the Russian Orthodox Church in Japan would in itself be sufficient ground for raising the question whether its impressive Christian ceremonial might not prove the most effective way of presenting a worshipping Christianity to an æsthetic people like the Japanese. It would indeed be difficult for anyone familiar with the circumstances to take exception to the statement that the Holy Orthodox Church has been the most successful of all the Christian Missions in Japan. No other Church or denomination in the Far East can show the same results for the same expenditure of time, money, and force of personnel. For the Greek Church in Japan, after a labour of forty-five years, has 36,265 com-

missionaries, the fruit of the efforts of but one foreign missionary, and he the Russian of the Church, working through an active native ministry. Perhaps not since the days of the Apostles can one man show a finer example of Christian evangelization among a highly intelligent people than is revealed in the life and work of the late Archbishop Nicolai of the Russian Mission in Japan.

Archbishop Nicolai arrived in Japan somewhere about the year 1860, for a time he was an official in the Russian consulate in the then northern port of Hakodate—at Sapporo or Hakodate, I think it was, but he soon determined that it was his call to preach Christ among the Japanese, so he had then acquired a working knowledge of the language. It was clear from the beginning of his labours that he might expect better results by first planting the Church in the capital of Japan, and so he removed there in 1872 at the age of twenty-four, and began that wonderful work that he never laid down for forty-five years, and then only to receive the Crown of Life. It will be freely admitted by anyone familiar with the circumstances that the marvellous growth of the Church during that time was due under God, to the indefatigable zeal and unbounded devotion of the Bishop. His only foreign worker was the priest that in later years he brought out to train for the episcopal succession, and who is now Bishop of the Holy Orthodox Church in Japan.

The late Archbishop Nicolai was a man much beloved of all classes, foreigners and Japanese alike. He was always on the most cordial and friendly terms with our S.P.G. Mission in Japan, and with such men as the late Archdeacon Apcar. Long the late Archbishop was on the most intimate terms. The dignified and patriarchal figure of the venerable Archbishop was seen at our church services in Tokyo on great and important occasions. Nor were we less anxious to be present at great festivals in the Russian Cathedral. So beloved was the Archbishop by the entire nation of Japan that during the Russo-Japanese War when all other Russians had to depart, he was allowed—yes, requested—to remain, and no suspicion of anything but Christian sentiments ever crossed the Japanese mind concerning him during the trying days of the war. This may have been to some extent due to the fact that all the clergy of the Church were Japanese, but it was mainly owing to the character of the great Archbishop.

The big Russian Cathedral surrounding Surugu Hill in Tokyo, and dominating the landscape for miles around, is a worthy monument to the energy and zeal to its builder, and especially in its connection that those grand services there held so frequently must so much towards showing the beauty and power of splendid Christian devotional. The large congregations that assemble in the Cathedral Sunday after Sunday and holy day after holy day the year round bear the witness

rendered in a vocal music that is both impressive and inspiring, no instrument being used. Nor are there any seats: the congregation simply stand or kneel. All races and creeds go betimes to hear the services at the Russian Cathedral.

The present statistics of the Russian Church in Japan are as follows: Russian clergy 1, being the Bishop; native priests, 41; native workers, 163; annual baptism, 961 (more than the whole Church of England in Japan); total communicants, 36,265; church buildings, 217; children in Sunday Schools, 1,971; Japanese annual contributions to the work, 11,877 yen; Russian contributions, 3,930 yen. Of course the Holy Orthodox Mission in Japan has been undergoing great economic hardship during the years of the revolution in Russia, and especially since the Bolshevist ascendancy. The Imperial Family of Russia were staunch supporters of the late Archbishop. The work now depends for financial help almost wholly on Japanese sympathy and the generosity of the native Christians themselves. The present is indeed a time of testing, and an ordeal in which the Mission might well enlist the economic sympathy of people in England. The untiring devotion and constant self-sacrifice of its priests, from the Bishop down, set an example which the whole Church is not slow to follow in a truly apostolic fashion.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH

CHAPTER I—THE HEATHEN SERBS

ASIA is the original home of the Serbian people, who are mentioned by historians in very early times under such various names as Weneda, Wineda, Wenda, Winda, Weleta, Weneta, Wana, Sarmata and Skita, Tribala-Srba, Spora, Soraba, Sorba, Srba, Chirna, Trubana, Anta, and Iira. Lastly, a Greek historian named Jornandes, in the sixth century A.D., calls them Sloveni. As the various tribes spread over the lands which they had subdued, circumstances led them to adopt new names. The Russians, Poles, and Bohemians took the names of their ancestors; others, such as the Croats, Moravians, and the Serbs of Lausitz (the Wendts), were called after the countries in which they had settled; others, again, came to bear the names of the peoples by whom they were conquered. Such was the case with the Bulgarians.[1] The Serbian people alone kept the old name of "Srbi."

[1] The Bulgarians are generally considered to be originally of Finnish stock, but they intermarried with the Slavs whom they conquered, and adopted their language and religion. They retained, however, their non-Slav name. It is a mistake to regard the Bulgarians as a pure Slav race. [Trans.]

The name Sloveni is used at the present day as a general designation for all the Slav races. Beyond this all historians of importance are agreed in thinking that the name "Srb" is older than that of Sloveni, which is not found before the sixth century. Some writers have thus been led to maintain that the ancestors of all the Slav races sprang from the Serbs, that their oldest name was not "Sloveni" but "Srbi," and further that all the Slav races spoke Serb. General history places the Serbs amongst the Aryan races, and includes them in the Indo-European family. When the great migration of the peoples took place, the Serbs settled for the first time in North-East Europe, in the district between the Baltic Sea and the Sea of Azov.

From thence they spread farther westwards and inhabited the countries round the rivers Volga, Don, Dnieper, and Dniester. Crossing the latter, they became masters of the Carpathians and settled along the Oder and the Weichsel. Their progress was checked for the first time in the countries now comprised in the German Empire. When the Germans conquered their present country they drove a portion of the Serbs farther southwards into the Balkans, but the rest they subdued, and gave them the name of "Slaves." The Serbs so conquered became Germanized. Only the Serbian names of some rivers, villages, and towns have been preserved—with very trifling changes for the most part—to the present day. In the German language, too, there are still many words of Serbian origin. The Serbs immigrated to the Balkans at different periods from three directions—from the north, south, and east. Isolated Serb families had arrived even before the Christian era. Later on they peopled the country surrounding the Gulf of Salonica in great numbers. There they founded their State, to which they gave the name of Salonican Serbia, with Serbiza for its capital city. From the north several Serbian families had entered the Balkans even in the first century, but from 105 A.D. onwards their settlements became much more numerous. During the reign of Constantine the Great, 300,000 Serbs crossed the Danube at one time alone by Trajan's Bridge. Later on they occupied the western lands of Pannonia, Liburnia, Istri, and Dalmatia. From the east many Serbs, allied with the Huns, entered the Balkans under the leadership of Attila in order to assist the latter in attacking the Byzantine Empire. But when the Serbian soldiers, who had come over with the Huns, recognized their brethren in the Byzantine camp, they refused to fight against them. So Attila was compelled to withdraw from the Balkans, while all his Serbian warriors remained with their own people. The last immigration of the Serbs into the Balkan peninsula took place in the reign of Justinian I. (sixth century A.D.). This Emperor had much to suffer from the Avars in the west and the Persians in the east. In order to protect himself against his foes he

allowed many brave Serbs to settle in his empire, and those who came over—to the number of about 100,000—occupied Lower Moesia and Thracia. The Serbs in the Balkan peninsula multiplied so quickly that shortly after the time of Justinian many Serbian principalities had arisen. Thus, Lower Serbia comprised:

(1) Peloponnesian Serbia, which included two Serbian tribes, the Jezjerzi and the Milinzi.

(2) Welogezitia (Salonican Serbia).

(3) Sagudatia, on the right bank of the Vardar.

(4) Dragovitia, between the Vardar and the Neste.

(5) Wajunitia or Bojka, on the left bank of the Vardar.

(6) Runchinia, between the Lake Beschike and the River Struma.

(7) Smoljena, bordering on Macedonia and Thrace, and

(8) Strumia, with the capital cities Struma and Pernik.

All these principalities had their own rulers, and were governed according to their national customs for more than two hundred years. In the eighth and ninth centuries they changed very much in outward form, several larger States being formed, or rather growing out of them. These became eventually the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire, the Serbian Kingdom, and the new Bulgarian State. From the eighth century onwards, historians, when mentioning the power and might of the Serbs, speak of them as an independent people of Slavonic race. This portion of the Slav race has maintained itself in the Balkan peninsula from that day to this, under its old name of "Srbi." Although forming but a little State, it has had a glorious past, which gives hopes for a still grander future. The Serbian people were always brave and manly. Their arms were bow, spear, and shield. Owing to their courage, their able-bodied men were always eagerly incorporated by foreign rulers in their armies. Fishing and trade were also carried on by them vigorously, and these occupations brought them into the neighbourhood of sea and river. After they had become settled, cattle-breeding and agriculture also flourished amongst them. Of tools, they were acquainted with axe, hatchet, etc., though these were of rough workmanship at first. They were indeed as a people both honourable and industrious, but were most of all distinguished by their family and communal life, which they preserved with great care. Thus it might well happen that a family numbering from fifty to a hundred would live contentedly under one roof round which various other buildings grouped themselves. The religion of the Serbs before their conversion to Christianity was an anthropomorphic polytheism. They reverenced the various powers of nature as gods. Their principal divinity was the so-called Perma, who sent down lightning and thunder from heaven. Next to him they honoured the sun-god, "Sunze Dajbog," whom they regarded as the source of all earthly prosperity. The lesser gods of

the Serbs were "Oblazi," the mist god, "Mora," the ocean or sea god, "Jezera," the lake god, "Reke," the river god, and lastly, "Watra," the fire god. Every family had their own family gods. The Serbs were always a very pious people. They brought sacrifices to their gods of living animals and of fruits of the field. The head of the house sacrificed for the whole family, just as in the case of a sacrifice common to the whole tribe. Superstitious beliefs were widespread.

The Serbs had their male and female soothsayers to whom they turned in case of need to learn the future. A dim idea of an overruling, omnipotent God lay dormant within them, which made it easier for them to accept the doctrines of Christianity, and to receive baptism from the apostles of the new faith.

(To be continued.)

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF INDIA

THOSE who are accustomed to think that India is an entirely Hindu and Moslem country, and that the trifle of the Christian people she has are solely the result of European missionary work, will perhaps be surprised to know that from the very beginning of the Christian era there have been in Southern India a Church and a Christian people existing. If one goes from the West into the midst of these simple, contented, and till recently stagnant people, one would be able to perceive very familiar circumstances. Perhaps he would be a little astonished with the people's religious zest. Before the cock crows he may be awakened by the utterance of biblical verses in the streets by fanatics. In the evenings from behind the small kerosene or cocoanut-oil lamps he may hear melodious hymns, followed by the family invocations and the Lord's Prayer, fervently uttered. He will enjoy the familiar church bells, the imposing street crosses, the enthusiasm of the revival meetings, and the morning tramps of the Sunday-school children.

Once a year, as one of the great rivers of Travancore in South India dries up sufficiently, on a spacious and beautiful river-bed these people for a week assemble in a great convention. Many travellers who have attended it testify to the spiritual usefulness and the unique beauty of this assembly of 40,000 people.

The country Malabar where these people, who are known as the Syrian Christians of India, have lived for all these centuries is a most beautiful one. It has a wide expanse of backwaters, into which many deep and beautiful rivers flow. These are surrounded by banks covered with perpetual tropical greens and abundant and tall cocoanut trees. The country, besides having a long and continuous mountain

range, is pleasantly sprinkled with hills and rocks, now small, now imposingly high, and all the year round is crammed with vegetation. The roads are comfortably shady and are often thickly covered with avenues of banyan and mango trees, and as one goes by the abundant fruits of the season delightfully fall—here, there, and about. Birds, which are plentiful in the country, sing sweetly from the copses continually. Malabar has a fertile soil, too, which yields sometimes as many as three yearly crops; and a very steady rainfall, thanks to the mountain ranges, always keeps the wolf from the door of even the poor—unlike most of the other parts of India.

Living as they did in such a place, the Syrians were always in more or less comfortable circumstances. It is the pride of India that there was religious toleration in the country from very early times, and the fact that the Syrians were always treated with respect by the Hindu people and princes contributes to the strengthening of this opinion. The Syrian Christians always occupied a respectable position socially, and they even enjoyed regal powers in ancient times, and the last of their princes was one named Beliarte. They are converts exclusively from the high-caste Hindus, and they have their legitimate share in having trampled viciously upon the "untouchables" and in observing, until lately, a sort of rigid caste system. Hinduism influenced the Syrian Christians greatly, and they took part in certain ceremonies in the Hindu temples, and the Hindus used to go on pilgrimages to the Syrian churches.

As to the date of the origin of the Syrian Church and its founder, foreign scholars disagree, but there is not the vestige of a doubt about it in the heart of any Syrian. With the same zest with which they believe that Christ is the Son of God or that Virgin Mary was His temporal mother, they believe and assert that their Church was founded by St. Thomas, the Apostle of Christ. He is believed to have founded seven Churches in Southern India, which are said to exist to this day. He was finally assassinated, and lies buried in St. Thomas Mount at Mylapore, near Madras.

There are numerous popular traditions which help to feed the beliefs of the people. There are a hundred beautiful songs which all old men and women know, and which are handed down by fathers to sons from forgotten times. There are numerous stories which every Syrian mother teaches her children. They speak of how St. Thomas came into India; how, as he was travelling in a cabin boat, he saw a number of Brahmins bathing and worshipping the sun; how he challenged them to perform a miracle in the name of the god they worshipped, and how they failed, whereupon he performed the miracle himself and converted the Brahmins there into Christianity; and these, it seems, formed the nucleus of the Syrians. But more reliable evidence than tradition

would have been available except for the Portuguese Roman Catholics, who came into the country in the sixteenth century and, in a frenzy to convert the Syrians to Roman Catholicism, are said to have destroyed the evidence that connected the Church with the Apostle St. Thomas.

But before we trace the history and influence of the Roman Catholics on the Syrians, let us note what was happening among the St. Thomas Christians before them. In the latter part of the third century some traders pushed their way from Antioch, Babylon, and such places into India, and were thoroughly surprised to find a Christian people there in the south of India. The Christians of India naturally rejoiced to find the foreign traders who believed in the one God with them and in Christ. Representations were made to these traders that the St. Thomas Christians should have some priests and bishops sent to them from Antioch or Babylon. The travellers faithfully took the message back with them when they returned, and early in the next century a colony of Syrians, under the leadership of Thomas Cana, arrived. These freely intermarried with the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar, and the priests among them introduced Syriac into the liturgy of the Church, which language the major portion of the St. Thomas Christians use in their churches to this day. It is on account of these reasons that the Syrians got their rather outlandish name.

From the fourth century onward an intermittent connection was maintained between the Eastern Church and the Indian Syrian Church, and bishops were requisitioned at intervals by the latter indiscriminately from the Nestorian and the Jacobite Churches. In this connection it will, of course, be remembered that nearly from the fifth to the fifteenth century the Jacobite sect dwelt in the middle of the Nestorians in Central Asia. In A.D. 696 a Jacobite bishop is believed to have arrived in Malabar. And it may be of historical interest to note that, during the reign of Alfred the Great, the Bishop of Sherborne visited the shrine of St. Thomas in India about A.D. 883, and that reference is made by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, to the prevalence of Nestorianism among the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.

After this there is a deeply regrettable historical gap reaching out to the sixteenth century. In 1502, or close on that, Vasco da Gama arrived in India with a number of Portuguese for trading with the country, and they, in their turn, were surprised to find the Syrians and about a hundred churches in Malabar. The Syrians once again welcomed the Christian foreigners, and the throne of the Syrian King, which fell vacant at this time for want of an issue in the royal family, s said to have been handed over to Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese, by virtue of their trade, gradually acquired great influence with the

Hindu princes also, and they utilized their political power and influence to convert the Syrians into Roman Catholicism. Those Syrians whom they found impossible to convert by fair means they intensely persecuted. They seized and made a prisoner of the Syrian Bishop Mar Joseph. They convened what is known as the Synod of Diamper, at which about 150 of the Syrian clergy were forced to attend. These were accused of crimes, such as marriage, of not invoking saints, of not worshipping images, and of disbelief in purgatory. On peril of suspension from Church benefices they were asked to abjure these tenets. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects should be burned, "in order that no pretended apostolical monument may remain." A section of the Church yielded and accepted the supremacy of the Pope, on condition that they were allowed to continue to pray in Syriac. The Pope graciously compromising on this point, a large portion of Syrians became Roman Catholics. These are known as the Syro-Romans.

But a small section refused to yield. They proclaimed war on the Synod of Diamper. They hid such of the books as they had and fled to the mountains. Some sought the protection of the neighbouring Hindu princes.

KARIMPANKAL V. THOMAS.

(To be continued.)

AFFAIRS IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA

BY FATHER WAGGETT, S.S.J.E.

THE Orthodox Church in Palestine might well call for the special prayers of English Christians at this time, in virtue of the new relation between our country and the Holy Land, and because of the special needs of the Church.

The work of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre—one work—was maintained throughout the war with the least possible variation, and with the addition of special efforts for suffering classes. The suspension of some activities enabled the Church to place great buildings in and near Jerusalem at the disposal of the authorities for the shelter of refugees.

Worship was never interrupted, nor the care of the Holy Places.

Since the Armistice, and, indeed, since the Allied occupation of Jerusalem, the work has rapidly resumed its old channels. The learned work of the community has not ceased any more than its holy work of incessant prayer, and has made its manifestation during the past year by the renewed publication of the journal NEA CIΩN under the direction of the Archimandrite Timotheos Themeles.

The rulers of the Church have always been in happy relations with the authorities of the Allied Army and the Administration; and, indeed, the Orthodox as a body have been a force on the side of contentment and progress. It need scarcely be added that the attitude of His Beatitude the Patriarch towards the English Church is cordial and friendly.

But the material resources of the Church are enormously reduced by the cessation of pilgrimage, and by the interruption of communication between the Patriarchate-Brotherhood and its European properties. At the same time, the cost of living has vastly increased, and Palestine, from being one of the cheapest, has become one of the dear countries of the world. The late, strictly military, Administration was most zealous in remedying scarcity and keeping food accessible and prices as low as possible under the difficulties inseparable from a state of war just ceasing and the world-wide competition for supplies which began as soon as the seas became free. It may be that the new, quasi-civil Administration has been able to do more in this direction.

The essential interests of the Patriarchate, as of all other religious institutions in Palestine, have been undisturbed either by war or by occupation.

But the severe pressure of poverty upon the Great Church should be borne in mind in the hope of action at some more fitting time. Not only the institutions of the Holy City, of Bethlehem and Jordan, of Nazareth and Capernaum, are the care of the Patriarch, but every parish, mission, school, and orphanage from Ptolemais to Es Salt, and from Es Salt to Gaza, must be budgeted for by His Beatitude. A financial revolution as we learn in England, even if it is soon to be successfully accomplished and a new stability attained, presents a stage of extreme difficulty and much suffering.

Turning from the churches directly controlled *in all respects* by the Patriarchate to the *Russian* Orthodox establishment, a different account must be given. Here there has been serious interruption of life and work. The Russian churches and convents in Jerusalem and in the country were closed during the war and during the first part of the occupation, on account of the absence of priests and of most part of the faithful. The Russians who remained, left high and dry by the disappearance of "Russia" during the war, were and are very poor. They were, in fact, destitute. A band of women was employed in the administration buildings. Others received relief. The churches, as I said, were closed and sealed.

A small body of Russian ecclesiastics has now for some time been established in Jerusalem by the beneficent action of the Administration and of His Excellency the Spanish Consul. The principal Russian church—commonly called the cathedral—in the great Russian com-

pound north of the city, has been for more than a year reopened for regular services, and the conventual establishments on the Mount of Olives and at Ain Karim are restored to something of their normal state. The Church of St. Mary Magdalene, so conspicuous with its golden domes and pinnacles, in a part of the Garden of Gethsemane, was until lately still closed, but was within these last days the scene of the solemn and pathetic obsequies of the Archduchess Elizabeth, a Princess known in all the Churches for her good works, and, during her life, the president, I think, of the "Imperial Society of the Palestines." Of the other Russian works, in Nazareth, in Hebron, and elsewhere, I can give no particular account. The survival, so far, of this suffering community is very wonderful. The Russians in Jerusalem are, let it be repeated, very poor; and this national part of the Holy Orthodox Church calls, like the Great Patriarchate, but in still deeper need, for the prayers of the faithful in England.

Of the Orthodox Church in Syria—that is, principally of the Patriarchate of Antioch seated in Damascus—I have no very recent knowledge based on personal intercourse. I was last in Damascus in the winter of 1918. But I know that this Church also maintains unflaggingly all its good work and works; that it is in great indigence, both for other reasons and, especially, because of the state of Russia; and that its interests, which are of unmeasured importance, not only to Syria, but to the Farther East also, as well as its renown as the first see of St. Peter and anciently the sole Patriarchate, should incite us all to specially urgent prayer at this time.

Of the political anxieties which, as all the world knows, hang over the countries of the fallen Turkish Empire, and concern so especially the most ancient persistent elements in those countries—namely, the Christian Churches—this is not the place to write.

The time is a bad one for a special effort with regard to the financial needs of the Great Church in Palestine. Any persons wishing to send alms, though in a small way, to the Church of *Antioch* might, I think, correspond with His Excellency Haddad Pasha, who is at present in London. He is a cousin of His Beatitude Gregorios, Patriarch of Antioch, and would, I think, be willing to transmit any gifts to Damascus in a convenient way. Such gifts, even though they were small in relation to the work and needs of the Church, would convey a sensible encouragement to His Beatitude, and the simple arrangements of life in Damascus make each shilling immediately useful in the orphanages of the Patriarchate.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH UNDER BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION

THE night is darkest before the dawn. In Russia there are many signs of the coming of a great new day. Thus in Petrograd, as Mr. Zvegintzov recently wrote in the *Church Times*, there have sprung up many brotherhoods, which, headed by the priests, are facing the times with no reactionary aims but with the outlook of the Orthodox heart. Here is a description which he gives of a debate held by one such brotherhood in its parish church: "All persons recently escaped from Soviet Russia bear testimony to the strong religious movement with a peculiar character of its own which has developed in Moscow and Petrograd during the last year. Its leaders are mostly young parish priests and members of the intelligentzia. The new type of priest differs essentially from the old. He is a strong adherent to the idea of an independent Church, and holds himself aloof from all politics in the sense of mixing in political plots and organizations. At the same time, he is a staunch Democrat, and in most cases opposed to the Soviet Government. He frequently speaks openly against the abuses of the existing régime, and the Bolsheviks are obliged to tolerate such speeches. For the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Church has ended in the definite and obvious victory of the latter. The Bolsheviks no longer dare attack religion. More than that, verified facts prove that ever-increasing numbers of Communists observe religious rites, such as getting married in church, having their children baptized, and receiving Holy Communion on their death-bed. At the demand of Red Army men a religious service was held at the opening of a military hospital. The strong anti-religious current of two years ago has almost entirely disappeared. The Orthodox Church has conquered in her bloodless struggle against Bolshevism, and emerged purified by her trial. She has become more Christian and more truly a Church.

"A great number of Christian brotherhoods have of late sprung up in Petrograd. They are established locally, and, including as they do all the religiously inclined persons of the neighbourhood, form a kind of community of the early Christian type, founded on charity and brotherly love, everything being shared in common. They hold frequent prayer-meetings and religious philosophic debates. At their head usually stands the parish priest of the new type. Cases of laymen entering Holy Orders are becoming more and more frequent.

"All these brotherhoods, of which there are about a hundred in Petrograd, are grouped around the Theological Institute—a unique institution, almost the only one existing unsubsidized by the Government, and maybe for that very reason possessing great vitality. Professor N. Lossky, an eminent philosopher and one of the directors of the Institute, testified to the extraordinary zeal of the students. In the bitter cold, with temperature below freezing-point in the lecture-rooms, they never missed their classes, and showed touching solicitude for the professors by bringing them a log of wood or some bread to their flats.

"Religious debates are taking place more and more frequently in the churches after service, especially in labour districts. One such debate has been described by an eyewitness—a man completely alien to religion and the Church—who confessed that it had left an indelible impression on his mind:

"'The small church, dimly lit by smoky strips of wood (wax candles being no longer obtainable), was as crowded as on a church holiday. The people all belonged to the working class, the women with shawls on their heads, the men in working clothes. Men were in the majority. On the raised dais before the altar stood Professor Lossky, small in stature, powerful in speech. He spoke of the Soul of the Universe, of the knowledge of the Deity, his philosophic intuition closely interwoven with the doctrine of the Orthodox religion. He spoke clearly and simply. After he had finished there was a long silence. Then a Communist—a young man of about twenty, the president of the local union of Communist youths—rose up and began to speak vehemently, attacking God and the Church. And suddenly, as if at a given signal, the whole congregation began to sing a hymn. A group of young people—a small one—in their turn started the *Internationale*. And for a long while the two chants—the prayer and the *Internationale*—were blended together until the *Internationale* was drowned by the mighty swell of the hymn. After that Lossky spoke again, and when he had finished the whole crowd fell on their knees and prayed long and fervently. . . . And the majority of that crowd were working men. . . . To me it was a strange and uncanny sight. . . .'"

One of the most disquieting phenomena of the day is the loss, almost entire, of the sense of the solidarity of Christendom. The apathy of the Western Churches, including ourselves, concerning the awful fate of the Christians of the Ottoman Empire is paralleled only by the incomprehensible indifference to the sufferings of the Church in Russia at the hands of what the Labour Union in America calls the "bestial tyranny" of the Bolshevik régime. General Aladin, of Wrangel's army, recently told a public meeting that the movement in the Russian Church toward the Anglican had received a severe check by the refusal, immoral and unchristian as it seemed to them, of the leaders and the body of the English Church to announce boldly and uncompromisingly that she stood with her sister Church in denouncing the antichristian persecution of religion and civilization.

The Russian Church has now joined her sister Churches of the south in the proud title of Martyr for the Faith, and we in the West can at the least acknowledge our debt of admiration and gratitude for her faithfulness. Accounts that come through in spite of censorship all agree in the fact that never have the churches been more thronged with suppliants, never have the priests had a greater spiritual influence. One of the great signs of the times is the remarkable return in the "intellectual" class to the faith of the Church, and the reception by several eminent men of Holy Orders.

To give Anglican readers an idea of the monstrous persecution through which the noble Russian Church is passing we print this extract from *Izvestia*, the Moscow Bolshevik organ, dated January 23, 1921:

On January 27 the case of the Archangel Clergy and Laity Union will be tried by the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal (18, Bolshaia Lubianka), with Smirnov as presiding judge, and Steinberg as public prosecutor. The accused are prominent members of the Archangel clergy, headed by Bishop Platon and Protopresbyters Tchekhan, Popov, Fedosikhin, Meletiev, Legatov, Nechayev, Soloviev, and various organizations of the counter-revolutionary Union of Clergy and the Laity, and are accused of actively assisting the blockade of North Russia by the Entente Powers, of having made pogrom speeches against the Soviet authorities, resisting the Red Army, spreading provocative literature, of entering into communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury with the object of persuading the British to continue the blockade of the northern coast, etc. Besides that, the priests above mentioned are likewise accused of spreading false reports concerning a pretended vision of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus, and of distributing literature in connection with this, trying by such means to persuade the superstitious ignorant masses to struggle against the Soviet authorities.

The trial will occupy several days. Admission free.

Later issues of *Izvestia* report that, in pursuance of the above, from January 28 and 31 the Archangel clergy and others were brought before the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal.

Bishop Paul, protopresbyters Tchekhan, Popov, Legatov, and Meletiev, the priest Popov, late secretary Sokolov, and former merchant Shaposhnikov, were accused of founding in Archangel an organization called "The Archangel Union of Clergy and Laity," nominally for safeguarding the interests of the Orthodox Church, but in reality for the active support of the blockade of Northern Russia by the Entente, which organization existed from July, 1918, to March, 1920. For this purpose they were said to have made collections in money and kind; in their speeches and appeals to have excited the population against the Soviet Government; to have composed and despatched an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to use his influence to prolong the Allied occupation of Northern Russia; and to have sent out experienced preachers to the anti-Bolshevik front.

The Revolutionary Tribunal pronounced the following sentence: the late Bishop P. Pavlovsky, D. Sokolov, secretary of the Diocesan Council, protopresbyter John Popov, editor of the *Diocesan News*, and protopresbyter V. Tchekhan, were sentenced to the highest grade of punishment (death penalty), but, in accordance with the amnesty of November 20, 1920, the sentence was mitigated to five years' imprisonment, while in the case of Tchekhan, in view of his age and ill-health, imprisonment is substituted by provisional detention. Legatov, Meletiev, Michael Popov, Vladimir Popov, and Shaposhnikov were sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but in accordance with the amnesty the sentence was mitigated to three years' provisional detention.

The Ekaterinodar *Red Star* reports the execution of Bishop Nikanor (R.I.P.) for communicating with the rebel Cossacks of Batalpashinsk.

The Petrograd *Izvestia* of February 16 reports the trial of the former Novgorod Diocesan Council, which took place in Novgorod on February 11. The accused were the Metropolitan Arsenius, Bishop Alexis, protopresbyters Jakovtsevsky, Sokolov, priest Vikhrov, and citizens Finikov and Skorodumov.

They were charged with having violated the decree for the separation of the Church and State. The trial lasted two days. The verdict of the Revolutionary Tribunal was pronounced at midnight, February 12. The sentence being mitigated in accordance with the amnesty, the Metropolitan Arsenius was sentenced to five years' detention, his residence being fixed in Archangel; Bishop Alexis to three years' detention, the citizens Finikov and Skorodumov—accused, moreover, of publishing counter-revolutionary articles in the *Diocesan News*—were sentenced to five years' detention and deprived of the right to occupy responsible posts in Soviet institutions; the protopresbyters Jakovtsevsky and Sokolov to five years' provisional detention; the priest Vikhrov to three years' detention.

Usque tandem, Domine?

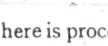
Our prayers are with our Russian brethren.

SERBIAN CHURCH NOTES

By D. S. MARIĆ

THE Serbian Church at the present time is in a process of consolidation, after two events of very great importance—viz., the solution of the question of the second marriage of priests and the proclamation of the Serbian Patriarchate. As regards the first, which has agitated very much the Serbian Church during these last two years, the Episcopal Council seems to have succeeded in putting an end to some attempts to settle that question in an irregular way. We read in *Vesnik*, the organ of the Orthodox Priests' Association (No. 45, December 25, 1920), that "the Holy Episcopal Council of the Serbian Patriarchate" has decided to undertake the following disciplinary measures in regard to those priests who have contracted marriage a second time: (1) All such priests will be deposed, if they do not dissolve the second marriage; (2) those priests who repent and subjugate themselves to this decree, after a "penance," may be allowed to reassume their former positions, provided the diocesan bishop consents; (3) all those priests who after the issue of this decree contract a second marriage will be immediately deposed; (4) all those priests who performed the rite of marriage in the above-mentioned cases will be punished "according to the existing laws."

As a reply to this, on the part of the priests, there was held on February 2 this year in Belgrade an extraordinary conference of the Priests' Association, in which prevailed a conciliatory attitude towards this decision. The conference decided to renew their former appeal to the Episcopal Council for a favourable settlement of the question.



As to the New Patriarchate of the Serbian Church, there is proceeding an administrative and judicial organization of the now united bodies of the former anthocephalous Churches of the Serbian race. The Prince Regent has signed a provision which, being accepted by the Patriarchate, concentrates the whole authority of the Patriarchate into the hands of four main

bodies. There is: (1) the Episcopal Council of the Patriarchate, which is not-permanent; (2) a permanent Synod of four bishops and the Patriarch; (3) the Great Ecclesiastical Court; and (4) the Great Administrative Council of the Serbian Patriarchate, in which half the members are laymen. All bodies are under the Patriarch's presidency, except the Great Court, in which the members are nominated for the session of every year. The Patriarchal Synod, with the Patriarch as its head, forms the kernel of all this composite organization, and among its four departments, with bishops as the chief of the departments, there is also a department for "foreign affairs." This department has, with other duties, also the duty of receiving and sending all correspondence in regard to the reunion of the Churches.

A further point of interest is that the Episcopal Council of the Serbian Patriarchate has recently decided that there shall no longer be any distinctive ecclesiastical costume to be used outside the church services; and priests in future will wear ordinary lay costume, with, however, some sort of distinctive mark to be decided later on.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER

THE disastrous elections in Greece have put a stop to any active reunion work for the time so far as the Greeks are concerned. The election of a permanent Patriarch has been put off until the political situation is stable and the final settlement known for a certainty; and the summoning of a great Council of the Orthodox East—or, at any rate, the Greek part of it—must likewise await the appointment of a successor to St. Chrysostom.

Under these circumstances it has seemed more profitable to pay greater attention for the time being to the Separated Easterns, and the presence of the Patriarch of the Old Syrians [Jacobites] in the city is an exceptional opportunity that could not be missed. He attended matins and the Eucharist in my Church on Christmas Day, the first time His Holiness had witnessed an Anglican service, and afterwards I had a long and careful conversation with him. He insisted that the Athanasian Creed represented the faith of his Church accurately, and if this is really so it would, of course, clear the so-called Jacobites of all suspicion of heresy. If the disturbed state of Asia Minor keeps the Patriarch here long enough, it may be possible for the Archbishop's Committee to submit some test and reach an official understanding in some degree.

I returned the visit at the Eastern Christmas, and only last Sunday was invited to the ordination of a priest. Apparently the Syrian community has grown from three hundred to two thousand, during the war and since, from fear of massacre and general restlessness, and as this increase is likely to be permanent a second priest is needed. It is worth noting that the ceremony was fixed for eleven o'clock—a much later hour than their usual Sunday Eucharist—and was not over until 12.30. Unfortunately, my own services prevented my attending until the latter part, and I missed the actual laying-on-of-hands; but I understand that this was done three times, and before each the Patriarch stood with hands outstretched towards the altar, and then turned and immediately placed them upon the candidate's head. There was also a threefold tonsure, the three locks of hair being carefully wrapped up and put away, and the coif, or skull-cap, was offered before the altar before being placed on the ordinee's head. Afterwards the new priest preached a fluent sermon, and officiated for the rest of the Eucharist. At one point

the "flabella" were shaken over his head, and this was also done at the laying-on-of-hands, when cymbals were also used and a small bell rung.

After the service the Patriarch took his place in the reception-room, but the newly ordained and his attendants still continued chanting in the church: the singing drew nearer, coming slowly up the stairs, and I was told that he was begging permission to enter. At last the door, which had been carefully shut, was flung open, and the procession entered. The Patriarch put incense into the censer, and the ordinee censed the assembled company, afterwards receiving His Holiness's blessing.

I find that there are also nearly a hundred Nestorians scattered about the city, including one or two priests. Unfortunately, their begging propensities and a tendency to throw themselves upon your charity and renounce all responsibility for themselves [a usual Eastern failing] alienates sympathy.

The town is also overrun with Russian refugees, and I am engaging a colonel of artillery as sexton, and him and his wife as my household servants. But there are also many bad characters amongst them, and the British do not feel very friendly towards them owing to the number of Russian restaurants, dancing saloons, and gambling halls that have been opened, and the prodigal way in which those who had money flung it about on their first arrival. Here, again, the urgent need of the moment is to find shelter, food, clothes, and work, and reunion work must wait for happier times.

R. F. Borough,
Chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church.

A CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE

IT is with a heavy heart that after this number had been put into type, the tragically sudden and lamented death of His Grace the Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Throne constrained us to make many alterations in it. We had written with eager expectation of the happy events to which we were looking forward in connection with his visit. "God worketh not as man hath thought," wrote pagan Euripides, "And what man thinks not, God hath wrought, So hath each tale an ending." A terrible blow has fallen upon our Eastern-Orthodox brethren. We share in its pain. None the less, we know that this common sorrow will prove another bond between us and them.

Those who were on the platform at Victoria to welcome the Locum Tenens will never forget the informal but abundant eagerness with which the members of the Greek community present greeted His Grace. Dignified gentlemen in top-hats pressed forward to kiss his hand, little children were held up by their friends to secure his blessing. His Grace, on alighting from his compartment, stood still for a moment, looked round, and then in fervent tones prayed for a blessing on this country, its King, its Archbishop and Church.

Wherever His Grace went his dignified presence, courtly manners, great kindliness, and simple goodwill won universal admiration. He was received by the King, entertained at the Athenæum by Mr. Riley to meet a distinguished company, paid visits of ceremony to the Archbishop, visited Fulham, and interviewed Lord Curzon. He had arranged a considerable programme of a like ceremonial character. In view, however, of the terrible

danger threatening his people, and unless or until the objects of his mission be achieved, he had relegated the acceptance of pleasurable, personal engagements to the provisional.

On March 13 he assisted at the Liturgy in St. Sophia, the beautiful Greek church in Bayswater which is built on the pattern of Great St. Sophia, and is adorned with replicas of its hidden mosaics. His doing so was naturally an event of the greatest importance in the history of the Greek community in England. Needless to say, a large congregation of his people assembled to receive (for the first time in the lives of most of them) a patriarchal benediction.

On March 10 he had taken the opportunity of a visit to Lambeth in order to present the Archbishop of Canterbury with the enkolpion,[1] which, as *Ekklesiastike Aletheia* recorded, the Holy Synod of Constantinople voted recently should be offered to His Grace. The enkolpion in question is an oval medallion worn on the heart, on which the stavropegeion, or crowned double-headed eagle, is set in brilliants. A little consideration shows the nature of this peculiarly delicate and gratifying compliment. The stavropegeion has been the peculiar emblem of the Patriarchate since 1453, in virtue of the fact that, during the abeyance of the Imperial office, the Œcumenical Patriarch holds the civil headship of the Eastern Orthodox throughout the Turkish dominions. As such it is, for example, printed on the central tile of those monastic churches which are stavropegiac—*i.e.*, which are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Patriarch—and is treated with marks of great veneration, the reader of the lections at Esperinos kissing it, etc. To invest the Archbishop of Canterbury with the stavropegeion is to give him a particular claim to the goodwill of the Eastern Orthodox.

The particular enkolpion presented to him, however, was that which from the time of his first enthronisation in 1878 was worn next his heart by the famous and venerated Joachim III. As such it is more than an heirloom which would naturally be cherished by the Eastern Orthodox.

Joachim III. is, not without reason, already regarded as a saint. His stavropegiac enkolpion, therefore, is a relic (λείψανον) which would not lightly be given to any individual, and in the ordinary course would be preserved as such relics usually are, being placed in some reliquary or in a holy table or an antiminsion. Its presentation to the Archbishop of Canterbury may be taken as being a carefully thought out and symbolic expression of the relations between the two Churches.

The presentation took place in the following manner: The Archbishop of Canterbury, fully robed and attended by his chaplain bearing the Pastoral

[1] An enkolpion (ἐγκόλπιον) is a medallion worn on the breast by bishops and bishops only. A Metropolitan can wear two—*i.e.*, of the Virgin and Child and of the God-Man. In Constantinople none but the Œcumenical Patriarch may wear two.

Cross presented to him by the members of the Lambeth Conference, received the Locum Tenens and two members of the Mixed Council of the Patriarchate (MM. Ioannides and Kara Theodori), together with Father Germanos, the Assistant Secretary of the Holy Synod, and Dr. Gennadios, at the altar steps. The Locum Tenens, vested in mandyas and carrying his staff, speaking in Greek, addressed the Archbishop as "My dear brother in Christ," and said that he was acting in accordance with a decree of the Holy Synod and the Mixed Council of the Œcumenical Patriarchate in asking His Grace to accept the enkolpion as an earnest of the brotherly feeling of the Orthodox Eastern Church towards the Church over which His Grace presides, and that it would serve as a pledge of the fellowship of the two Churches in the service of Our Lord. He then placed the enkolpion on the Archbishop's breast. In reply the Archbishop said: "Your Grace, I need hardly assure you with what deep feeling and recognition of the importance and far-reaching meaning of your act to-day I receive this gift which you, in the name of the Synod, are presenting to me as the occupant of the chief seat in our Church of England. The enkolpion, beautiful in itself, is beautified still more by its sacred symbolism and by the memories of its use by successive Patriarchs, among them one so worthily honoured as your great predecessor, Joachim III., with whom I myself had the honour of being in communication years ago. That the gift which you have presented to me to-day may tend to mark the closer friendship of our two communions and enable us the better to work together for the winning of this world to Christ, for the conquering of what is evil and amiss in Christendom and outside Christendom, and for the deepening of the spiritual life of our peoples, is my earnest prayer, as I thank you with all my heart for the honour, with its far-reaching meaning, which you have paid to our Church to-day." The Archbishop then offered prayer at the altar and gave the blessing. Among those present in the chapel were the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Western New York, Bishop Gore, the Principal of King's College, Professor Jenkins, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, and the Rev. J. A. Douglas.

Joachim III., we may notice, was by general consent the greatest of all modern Œcumenical Patriarchs. His tenure of the throne (1878-1884 and 1901-1913, when he died at the age of eighty-two) was marked by many reforms and by the beginning of close relations with the Anglican Churches. The Turks and Abd-ul-Hamid himself, whom he dared to confront and to withstand, held him in unusual respect. His great claim to memory as a statesman, indeed, is that he brought his people without massacre through the reign of the Red Sultan, and that without ceasing to hold and maintain the Greek vision of the redemption of St. Sophia.

He was fond himself of telling a story of how, when a Metropolitan, he visited the church which he afterwards dreamed, but without realizing his passionate desire, of reconsecrating as Œcumenical Patriarch, he climbed

the stairway into the Gynæceum. As he mounted he sang the Lenten psalm—"God is for us," etc. Presently above him he heard the same words chanted. He stopped and waited. The unknowing singer continued and came on down. It was a Turkish *imam*, a Stavriote, one of those Christians who, Moslems in name and seeming, have secretly cherished the Faith since 1453.

The Director of the Theological College of Halki always holds the titular metropolitical See of Seleukia. The present occupant of that important office, Germanos, who came to London in order to accompany the body of the Locum Tenens to Constantinople, has presided over the College for nine years, and is a man of great power and vigour. Since he is both a staunch friend of the Anglican Churches and in the prime of life, we may confidently look forward to much contact with him in the future. Last year he represented the Eastern-Orthodox Communion at the Geneva World Conference. He is a frequent contributor of interesting and scholarly articles to Νέος Ἡσυχία, the theological monthly of the college.

The ex-Œcumenical Patriarch, Germanos V., who died in January last, was reputed to have been strongly pro-German. That he could have been so at heart, we doubt: for the pivot of German policy was to buttress up the Sultan's tyranny, the condition of that tyranny was the repression of the Greek race, and the Turkish method of that repression was outrage and murder. If Germanos V. trimmed his sails to the storm, who can prefer to explain his doing so by his inclination rather than by his fear for his people? If he had showed the least leaning to the cause of the Allies, Talaat and Enver would have got the work they itched to do. Germanos V., who was seventy-four when called to the throne, seems to have been a well-meaning though neither a strong nor consistent man. In happier times he might have filled his office with dignity and sufficiency.

Mar Ignatius Elias III., the Patriarch of the West Syrian Church, who is now in residence in Constantinople, visited Christ Church formally on Christmas Day last. The title Mar Ignatius is assumed by every Patriarch of the "Orthodox Syrians," as those who are wrongly termed Jacobites style themselves on his enthronization, "Mar," of course, being Syriac for Lord. The West Syrians are now reduced, thanks to the deportations and massacres in the war, to about 200,000 people. Half a million East Indians, who are ruled by their own Matran, or Metropolitan, acknowledge him as their Patriarch. It is a very small remnant of a very ancient Church, which, of course, possesses its own Liturgy and other distinctive characteristics. Mar Ignatius Elias III. expresses himself as ready to affirm the Athanasian Creed, and is eager to enter into union with other historic Churches on the basis of autocephalicity and of the fundamental of primitive patristic faith.

In Constantinople there are a few thousand Italians and Maltese who are Roman Catholic and who worship according to the Latin rite. There is also one small Papalist Church, which belongs to the so-called Uniates (*i.e.*, Papalist Greeks or Slavs who use the Orthodox rite). It is not generally known that last year the Pope caused a "Greek Catholic bishop to be consecrated" for Constantinople, the decision not being explicable by the need of a bishop for so small a flock but by the Vatican's determination to "maintain its rights" and to prevent "Constantinople becoming a monopoly of Orthodoxy." What would Newman have said?

Archbishop Meletios, Metropolitan of Athens, who arrived in London in the middle of February but left for New York on March 4 in order to regulate certain matters in the Greek Orthodox American community, intends to take up his residence in London for a time. His Grace was present at the Society of the Faith Eucharist in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on St. David's Day, and, with the diocesan's invitation, preached a very eloquent sermon, appealing to the English Church not to abate its sympathy for the suffering peoples of the East and to sustain the demand for the redemption of St. Sophia—the two objects for which the Holy Sacrifice was offered.

On the evening of the same day His Grace, who had been entertained at luncheon at the National Liberal Club, preached again and with great force on the comity and amity existing between the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches.

Bishop Nicholai Velimirovic, who has been translated to the ancient and famous See of Ochrida, visited London in January on his way to America. He expects to be with us again in April.

Father Waggett, of S.S.J.E., and the Rev. Algernon Ward, have been added to the Archbishop's Committee on Relations with the Eastern Churches.

This extract from a letter recently written by a distinguished Professor at Constantinople will interest our readers greatly:

"I finished my essay about your Orders. My conclusion is that our Church must recognize your Orders as she recognizes the Orders of the Roman Catholics and Armenians, and consequently recognize above all your Sacraments—that is, not only Baptism, but Confirmation, Eucharist, Marriage, etc.; and if a person ordained by you comes to us and accepts our Faith, to accept him in his Orders. But as concerns Intercommunion, to do the same as with the Roman Catholics and Armenians—that is, not to communicate until the union takes place, that is, till we come with you or the Armenians to an agreement about the fundamental truths that are to be believed as sufficient for the union."

The question of the remarriage of widowed priests has arisen in the Serbian and Roumanian Churches, involving the consideration of the permissibility of departure from the ancient Canon Law of the first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa which prohibits all marriage after ordination to the diaconate. Many priests returning from exile in Bulgaria found their children motherless and homeless. Their need intensified a movement for the allowance of remarriage, and a demand was made by many to the Holy Synod at Belgrade for permission, failing which they said they would nevertheless proceed to marry. They were forbidden, pending enquiry concerning the attitude of the Patriarchate at Constantinople. Among the delegates on this question was Bishop Nicholai Velimirović. The reply of the Patriarchate was that while the matter could be finally determined only by a Council, the Serbian Church, acting with due discretion, would not be acting reprehensibly if in the special circumstances and needs it decided to allow such remarriage.

Meanwhile some of the clergy had remarried and were suspended from office, and the Serbian Synod has decided for the present not to allow remarriage. The sanction of Constantinople to the exercise of this condescension and dispensation of "economy" by the local church in this matter of œcumenical law is noteworthy.

The Serbian Synod has decided not to proceed further in the matter of the reordination of the Czech Roman Catholic priest who in August last was reordained to the diaconate by the Metropolitan of Nish. They have, however, at the request of the Czecho-Slovak "national" Church, recently separated from Rome, accepted three men to be trained and consecrated to the episcopate. Certain concessions have been offered concerning the marriage of the priests, Holy Communion in two kinds, etc.; but the continued use of the translated Roman rite has not been allowed.

This reordination illustrates the Orthodox view on the Sacraments. The Eastern-Orthodox Churches do not allow that Sacraments can be certainly valid outside the unity of their communion. But in the case of a convert they hold themselves free to accept or reject by economy the Orders and other Sacraments received before his admission into the fold. The Russian Church since 1667 has laid it down that Roman and Protestant Trinitarian Baptism shall be accepted. The other Churches have not abolished formally a constitution of the four Patriarchs of 1756, ordering the rebaptism and reordination of all Westerns who have been baptized by affusion. None the less, it has been largely abrogated in practice. Mr. Douglas dealt with this in an article in our September number, and now has a book on the economical treatment of heterodox sacraments in the press.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Great Protosynkellos Athenagoras holds an office at the Phanar, which corresponds to the Papal Cardinal Secretaryship of State. He is a scholar and archæologist of high repute.

Miss E. J. Robinson is well known in London as the secretary of the Armenian Red Cross, and a staunch worker for the Armenian cause.

Professor Papaporphyriou is one of the best-known theologians of the Church of Cyprus.

Miss E. Kephala, until recently a secretary at the London Légation de la Grèce, is the author of a remarkable little book, "Sketches of Eastern Church Life." Her home is in Athens.

The Rev. J. Ingram Bryan is a S.P.G. missionary, who has worked long in Japan.

Father Waggett until recently held an important Government post in Jerusalem.

Miss Scott Hopper is a well-known novelist.

Mr. Marić is a Serb student, now at St. Sava's, Oxford.

OUR BOOKSHELF

The Doctrine of the Church and Reunion. By the Rev. Dr. A. C. HEADLAM. (John Murray.) 12s. 6d.

A book on Reunion by the Oxford Regius Professor of Divinity must at any time be a book of importance, but when, as Dr. Headlam tells us in his Preface is the fact with his Bampton Lectures, it presents the conclusions of the study and thought of thirty years and is uttered at so decisive a moment as the eve of the Lambeth Reunion Conference, we naturally read it with the expectation that it may well prove epoch-making. That expectation is reinforced in the case of this book by our knowledge that not only at King's College during the difficult period of its incorporation in London University, and in the Faculty of Theology of the University itself, but also in the revolution which is now taking place under his régime in the Divinity School of Oxford, Dr. Headlam has been in close contact with the leaders of English non-episcopalian Christianity, and has had a rare experience of those imponderabilia, the wise handling of which is essential to Home Reunion. It is, therefore, surprising neither that the basis of General Reunion which he lays down in his concluding lectures should be consistent, nor that in its main features it should be the only basis conceivable on which—granted the will to do so—the right wing of Anglicanism would consent to unite with non-Episcopalians, or its left wing with the traditional Churches of the East and West. Our business, however, here is to examine his proposals in relation to the Eastern-Orthodox and not their general practicability. Briefly they are that all Christians should unite in one Church on the basis of: (1) The affirmation of the so-called Nicene Creed; (2) the acceptance of the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; (3) the full acceptance of all Orders, episcopal, presbyterian, and congregational *pro hac vice;* (4) the future requirement of Episcopal ordination. In other matters he would have mutual toleration, and in effect would leave the *affirmanda* without other definition than is to be found in the Creed and the ancient Liturgies.

In view of the limitation of our scope we are not concerned here with the summary of the investigations into the doctrine of the Church or the history of the ministry of the priesthood which occupied Dr. Headlam's first five lectures. Very few of those who are most in touch with our own movement could accept his conclusions without reinstating the pillars of their belief and religious life. That, however, need not trouble us. The question which we have to ask here is, would the

Eastern-Orthodox consider that basis worth discussion? In spite of their eagerness, their manifest and pressing eagerness, to find a means to meet us, the answer must be in the negative. We wish the fact were otherwise and they wish it were otherwise, but as the Anglican position is to-day, and as the Eastern-Orthodox position is, there is a chasm between our respective fundamentals which cannot be bridged. At the time of writing I have a little book in the press in which I have collected a series of passages from authoritative Eastern-Orthodox documents bearing upon the doctrine of the ministry. Beginning with the first of the Eastern-Orthodox five symbolic books, the famous answers of the Œcumenical Patriarch, Jeremiah II, to the Würtembergers at the end of the sixteenth century, and including extracts from synodical utterances, encyclicals and catechisms of the next three centuries, they leave no doubt that, as the Constantinople reply to Leo XIII., 1895, asserts, "no other basis of reunion than that of the Faith of the first nine centuries" is possible for the Eastern-Orthodox. All their theological writers of the last century—Macarius, Philaret, Khomiakoff, Samarin, Sokoloff, and Bulgakoff among the Russians; Damalas, Rhossis, Mesoloras, Androutsos, Dyovouniotos among the Greeks—have told us the same thing explicitly. They have also reiterated almost to weariness the warning that it is impossible for them to consider reunion with a Church which includes in its membership those who reject part of the tradition of those nine centuries or which is in communion with another body that does so. This last caution would alone make us realize that the Eastern-Orthodox could not at present accept Dr. Headlam's basis of reunion; but when we remember what was the Faith of the first nine centuries, or for that matter the Faith of the first century, as the Eastern-Orthodox hold it to have been, we realize that to propose reunion to them upon the affirmation of the Nicene Creed as the fixed limit of dogma is comparable to inviting the Jew to discuss union upon the basis of the Messiahship of Jesus, or the Papalist upon that of the autocephalicity of the English Church. Professor Androutsos has told us politely but markedly that full dogmatic union is altogether an essential preliminary to Intercommunion. Every Eastern-Orthodox theologian who has discussed the case has said the same thing, and has said it in unmistakable terms.

The ground may shift, but to say nothing of relatively minor matters such as the *Filioque*, the Eastern-Orthodox fundamental to-day includes the recognition of the Seven Œcumenical Councils as the incontrovertible organs of the infallible Church, the necessity of Episcopacy, the priest's power to absolve, the Septenary Sacramental System, the expiatory nature of the "unbloody Sacrifice" of the Eucharist as offered for the living and the dead in unison with the Great High Priest, the metousiosis of the Eucharistic elements, invocation of the saints, and prayers for the dead. Moreover, to the Eastern-Orthodox all of these are inseparable from each other and form part of the living tradition of orthodoxy, to maintain which, as preserved among themselves through the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit since the days of the Fathers without "addition, diminution, or innovation," is their fundamental position.

That being so—and it may be doubted whether a single Eastern-Orthodox theologian or bishop could be produced to dispute it—it would be extraordinarily inept to invite the Eastern-Orthodox to consider reunion on the basis proposed by Dr. Headlam. In saying this I do not mean to suggest that we should disguise the fact that it is also not in the realm of present probability that the Anglican Churches should discuss reunion on the Eastern-Orthodox basis. Indeed, for the sake of both truth and wisdom it is especially incumbent on us to avoid alike the temptation to equivocate or its appearance, and to state plainly that, although Anglo-Catholics and many others share the same fundamental as the Eastern-Orthodox and could unite with them forthwith, that fundamental could only be adopted by the Anglican Churches at the cost of disruption. Unless they leave us or force us to leave them, we cannot part with the children of our own mother even to obtain the much

desired reunion with our brethren of the East. Nor, I am convinced, would such a plain avowal check the growing ties of spiritual intimacy, or be a bar either to the deepening of the *entente* between the two communions or to those symbolic acts by which it has of late years been expressed and which are now normal.

On the contrary, the Eastern-Orthodox understand the Anglican Churches very well. The risks most to be avoided are first the rousing of unwarrantable expectations, and secondly the attempt to arrange terms of union before the present chasm between our mutual dogmatic fundamentals is bridged. Meanwhile, as I have tried to show in the little book to which I have referred, we and they should be well content to wait patiently and to prepare the *terrain* by cultivating each other in the many ways which our respective principles permit.

Accordingly we may be well glad that a *ballon d'essai* such as those admirably drafted terms of intercommunion of which a first sketch appeared in the September *Christian East*, 1920, and which, it is an open secret, are a practical application of Dr. Headlam's Bampton Lectures, is to be circulated unofficially among the Eastern-Orthodox. On the other hand, we should regard their formal communication to the heads of the Autocephalous Churches as a blunder no less great than the Bonn Conference.

Turning from the certain attitude of the Eastern-Orthodox towards Dr. Headlam's proposed basis of reunion to the particular references he makes to them in his lectures, I venture to regret that he did not point out that, in spite of a scholastic seventeenth-century infiltration, the main body of Eastern-Orthodox theologians have never abandoned the Cyprianic teaching as to the defectibility of the *character* of Baptism and Orders, and also that he seems to assume that the Eastern-Orthodox accept Baptism whenever rightly performed as valid. In regard to the former, most authoritative Eastern-Orthodox theologians lay it down that heresiarchs lose the *character* and cannot confer it upon others. In regard to the latter—and he makes considerable use of it[1] in establishing his conclusions as to the essential validity of our Episcopalian Orders—the fact is that with St. Cyprian the Eastern-Orthodox refuse to admit the validity in principle—*i.e.*, *per se*—of any Sacraments outside the One, True Church as forming part of which they are unable to recognize the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, or other "heterodox." Professor Androutsos's book, to which I have referred above, makes this abundantly clear, and among the quotations in my own there are many which illustrate it.

It is further surprising and, in view of the figuring of the recognition of the validity of non-Episcopalian orders as one of the three planks in his platform, very surprising, that Dr. Headlam in no place refers to the function of *Economy* or "prudent stewardship" which the Eastern-Orthodox hold to belong inherently to the Church. It is in the exercise of this function that the Eastern-Orthodox Churches have from time to time accepted as valid Papalist, Armenian, and other Orders, or have from time to time rejected them. Professor Dyovouniotos in his dogmatic treatise on the Seven Sacraments[2] goes so far as to say that the Church has discretion to accept as valid Orders which have been conferred with an imperfect rite and without Apostolic Succession or to reject Orders which have been conferred with a perfect rite and with Apostolic Succession. He adds, indeed, that there is no precedent for the acceptance of the former and that it is unthinkable, but on his showing the acceptance of non-Episcopalian Orders is theoretically possible.

J. A. DOUGLAS.

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[1] *E.g.* p. 229. "It is for this reason that the undoubted decision of the Church is that Baptism is valid if rightly performed. Therefore any repetition of Baptism which has been rightly performed is a violation of the Catholic rule which forbids the repetition of this Sacrament." Very many Eastern-Orthodox theologians would deny both the premise and the conclusion.

[2] Athens, 1920.

The Pilgrim in Jerusalem. By the Rev. O. H. Parry, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 1920.) Pp. xxiv. With maps, plans, and twenty-four illustrations by the author.

Mr. Parry has achieved well a difficult task. He has filled a gap which one had not suspected in the great libraries of books which concern the city of the Great King. His work is a short history and a really helpful guide; but it has (as he modestly claims) an individual "point of view." The city is seen through a personality, and that gives the little treatise both distinction and charm. Such is the happy impression given by the letterpress—an impression deepened and verified by Mr. Parry's wonderful drawings. In that rarer and more eloquent art he is a "little master," perhaps, but yet certainly a master. As the author says in his Preface:

"Drawings, all except the worst, can do both more and less than photographs. The camera tells you the facts, or most of them: a drawing can select and emphasize and combine the essentials, and ignore what does not matter."

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As might be supposed, he himself is laudably scholarly—in a way detached—and accurate, and has "tried to recognize the claims of all—Jews, Moslems, and Christians." Yet he does not hide his own opinions, and considers that the tradition of the Universal Church is "not lightly to be set aside."

A word of praise should be given to Mr. Parry's admirable selection of mottoes for his chapters.

R. W. BURNIE.

A Short History of the Church of Russia. By R. F. Bigg-Wither. (S.P.C.K.) 8s.

An admirably written and interesting Introduction which it would be well to read before proceeding to such a book as Dr. Frere's "Links in the Chain of Russian History." The book contains a portrait of the Patriarch Tikhon and other fascinating illustrations.

Τὰ Μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920.)

This series of valuable notes of the events which followed the capture of Constantinople in 1453 throws much light upon the inexorable and secular policy by which the Vatican has strained every effort to secure the destruction and, failing that, the oppression, of the Patriarchate.

The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey from the Armistice to the end of 1920. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920.)

This terrible record, abundantly substantiated by evidence, will be an abiding study of historical pathologists. The type of bestial outrage and wanton murder to which the Turk has been consistently faithful during the war is now as familiar to us as it ever can be to those to whom it is incomprehensible, and to whom decency of language forbids its description. We know also that these unnamable and inhuman cruelties are natural to the Turk. The thing which passes understanding is that they have been allowed to go on persistently within gunshot of the British flag, and that seemingly Great Britain allowed Italian and French diplomacy to hold M. Venizelos in leash, and to prevent the advance of the Greek army at Brusa to the protection of its co-nationals. By all accounts, the Greeks might have entered Angora and abolished the Pooh Bah government of the Kemalists a year ago. After all, one is tempted not to be surprised that the people of Greece overthrew their great statesman last December. At least, it would seem that Constantine will not stay quiet while Greek blood is being shed and Greek victims abandoned to Moslem outrage. It will be strange if the glory of ending Turkish tyranny in Asia Minor should fall to him.

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This series of valuable notes of the events which followed the capture of Constantinople in 1453 throws much light upon the inexorable and secular policy by which the Vatican has strained every effort to secure the destruction and, failing that, the oppression, of the Patriarchate.

The Black Book of the Sufferings of the Greek People in Turkey from the Armistice to the end of 1920. (The Patriarchal Press, Constantinople. 1920.)

This terrible record, abundantly substantiated by evidence, will be an abiding study of historical pathologists. The type of bestial outrage and wanton murder to which the Turk has been consistently faithful during the war is now as familiar to us as it ever can be to those to whom it is incomprehensible, and to whom decency of language forbids its description. We know also that these unnamable and inhuman cruelties are natural to the Turk. The thing which passes understanding is that they have been allowed to go on persistently within gunshot of the British flag, and that seemingly Great Britain allowed Italian and French diplomacy to hold M. Venizelos in leash, and to prevent the advance of the Greek army at Brusa to the protection of its co-nationals. By all accounts, the Greeks might have entered Angora and abolished the Pooh Bah government of the Kemalists a year ago. After all, one is tempted not to be surprised that the people of Greece overthrew their great statesman last December. At least, it would seem that Constantine will not stay quiet while Greek blood is being shed and Greek victims abandoned to Moslem outrage. It will be strange if the glory of ending Turkish tyranny in Asia Minor should fall to him.

HIS HOLINESS TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW.